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SELECT WORKS

OF THE

EMPEROR JULIAN.

*** The inauſpicious name of JULIAN is ſtamped on the memory of all ages, not more by the extent of his dominions than by the infamy of his deſerting the Chriſtian religion: that great and eternal blot, that ſingle ſtain, which has totally ſullied all his other graces and accompliſhments; adorned, as he was, with every endowment of nature, genius, learning, and eloquence, ſurrounded by a noble train of attendant virtues, temperance, continence, liberality, moderation in his mode of life, and diſtinguiſhed alſo by the renown of valour and ſucceſs in war. But as it was by no means my intention, I will not ſay to eraſe or remove (for what Chriſtian would attempt that?), but in the leaſt to diſguiſe or extenuate, the blemiſh that his name has thus contracted, by paying ſome reſpect to his other virtues; ſo that elogium of uncommon erudition and elegance which his lucubrations in various branches of literature have received from ſo many paſt ages, ſhould not, I thought, on that account be with-held from them.

SPANHEIM, *in Dedic.*

THE WORKS

OF THE

EMPEROR JULIAN,

AND

SOME PIECES

OF THE

SOPHIST LIBANIUS,

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK.

WITH

NOTES from PETAU, LA BLETERIE, GIBBON, &c.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

THE HISTORY OF THE EMPEROR JOVIAN,

From the French of the Abbé DE LA BLETERIE.

By JOHN DUNCOMBE, M.A.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

THIRD EDITION CORRECTED.

Him Poesy, Philosophy, deplore,
The scepter'd Patriot, who distinctions wav'd,
Lord of himself, by Pagan rites enslav'd;
Whom all, but Christians, held their common friend,
Whose very errors had a virtuous end.——IRWIN.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

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1798.

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PREFACE.

THE Abbè de la Bleterie publiſhed, in 1735, *La Vie de l'Empereur Julian*, 12mo. * To this he added, in 1748, *L'Hiſtoire de l'Empereur Jovien, et Traductions de quelques Ouvrages de l'Empereur Julien*, in two volumes, ſmall 8vo. Both theſe works are executed with uncommon elegance and judgement, and have been very ſerviceable to me in the following tranſlations. With great ſagacity the Abbè has explained and enlightened ſeveral ambiguous and obſcure paſſages; and many others he has happily illuſtrated, though, in general, by endeavouring to give the idea of his author as he preſumes "Julian himſelf would have ex-" preſſed it, if he had written in French,"

* Bleterie's Life is indeed a very elegant one, and writ with much candour and impartiality. He is no deep man in the learning of thoſe times, but his good ſenſe generally enables him to ſeize the right. WARBURTON.

his version is too free and paraphrastical. If I have steered between the extremes of those "literal versions," those "homely copies," which he condemns, and the beautiful, but flattering, likeness which he has drawn, I shall have succeeded to my wish, being desirous of representing this Imperial author just as he is, as far as the idiom of the two languages will admit, in which the English, in point of analogy to the Greek, has the advantage of the French. Most of the annotations of M. de la Bleterie I have adopted, and the rather, as few of them have before appeared in English. A translation of his "Life of Julian," by some ladies *, was published in 1746, under the inspection of Mr. Bowyer; but the "History of Jovian" has till now been to our country "a fountain "sealed." Were the learned Abbè still living, I should, however, despair of satisfying him in this attempt, having traced him more closely than he has translated Julian, or wished to be translated himself.

The occasion, and the motives, that engaged me in this undertaking being the same

* Mrs. Williams, a blind lady, assisted by two sisters of the name of Wilkinson. *Anecdotes of Bowyer*, p. 185.

with

with those of this French academician, I cannot so well express them as in the same words:

"Having lately met with the works of "Julian, notwithstanding the just horror "with which I was inspired by his apos- "tacy, I found them equally eloquent and "ingenious, and perhaps more worthy to "be read than many of the ancient Pagan "writers. Besides, his morality being more "refined than theirs, because it has retained "a tint of ours, I perceived in his writings "a multitude of particulars useful for history, "and others, contrary to the intention of "the author, very advantageous, and highly "honourable, to religion. It seemed griev- "ous to me, that ill-founded scruples should "prevent translating into our language "that which deserved it. 'The Emperor 'Jovian,' said I to myself, 'very zealous 'as he was for the faith, did not think the 'adorning the tomb of Julian, and honour- 'ing, even in the ashes of that apostate 'prince, his rank as a man and an emperor, 'incompatible with the true spirit of Chris- 'tianity. Would it therefore be criminal 'not to neglect the productions of his ge- 'nius, and to draw them from the obscurity

‘ of the learned languages?’ The excellent “ Latin version of Father Petau * has already “ placed Julian within the reach of those “ who are not sufficiently acquainted with “ Greek to read the original; and the cele- “ brated Satire of THE CÆSARS, published “ in French by M. Spanheim †, with a long “ and

* PETAU DIONYSIUS [or PETAVIUS], a Jesuit, was one of the most learned men of his age. He was born in the city of Orleans, and honoured it by his merit. He was a vast genius, formed for literature, and rendered himself a prodigy of knowledge. For, besides the learned languages, which he wrote and spoke with the greatest fluency, there never was a divine more profound, an historian better informed, an orator more eloquent, a critic more judicious, a poet more ingenious and more flowery. In short, of nothing in literature he was ignorant. His excellent works leave no room to doubt this truth. Father Petau entered among the Jesuits in the year 1605, which was the 22d of his age. He was professor there of eloquence, and afterwards of sacred literature, and during the forty-eight years that he lived there in a most exemplary and edifying manner, he was the ornament of his society, the friend of all men of learning, the admiration of foreigners, and, in a word, one of the most excellent geniuses in France in the XVIIth century. F. Petau died in the college of Clermont, at Paris, on the 11th of December, 1652, aged 69. See his Life, written by another great man, Henry de Valois, his intimate friend, with the funeral elogiums of the learned. Besides numerous other works, he printed, in 1613, XVI orations of Themistius, in Greek and Latin, with notes and conjectures of his own; and in 1634 [rather 1630], he published the works of the Emperor Julian, 4to. &c.

MORERI.

† SPANHEIM EZEKIEL, the eldest son of Frederick Spanheim, professor of divinity at Leyden, was born at Geneva, in

" and learned commentary, has instructed " the most intelligent, without offending the " most ignorant *."

Of all the remaining works of Julian, both those which are here translated, and those which are not, M. de la Bleterie has given the following very accurate account:

" Independently of those faults of his " age, which Julian has not sufficiently " avoided, I mean a taste for declamation, " and the malady of quoting incessantly the " ancients, especially the divine Homer, " whether by way of ornament, or even of " proof, I question whether the two PANE-

in the year 1629. For proofs of his extensive learning see his work *de præstantiâ et usu numismatum*, his Dissertation on a medal of the Abderites, his five letters to Morell, a famous antiquary and medallist, which have been printed with the *Specimen universæ rei nummariæ antiquæ*, which the same Morell published at Leipsic, in 1695; his notes on Callimachus, and on the CÆSARS of the Emperor Julian, and some other treatises, whose title may be seen in Moreri, Paris edition, 1695. You may there also find a series of all the employments to which he was successively raised at the courts of various princes, till he was sent for the fourth time to the court of France [by the Elector of Brandenburgh], after the peace of Ryswick. He continued at Paris from that time to the beginning of the year 1701, when he was sent ambassador to England by his master, the new king of Prussia [with the title and dignity of Baron]. He died there Oct. 28, 1710, aged 81. BAYLE,

* *Preface à la Vie de Julien*, p. 1—3.

" GYRICS ON CONSTANTIUS * would afford " much pleaſure [to a modern]. Notwith- " ſtanding the beauties of narration, which " Julian has the art of diffuſing, they err " eſſentially as to their ſubject. Equitable " readers would blame the author for having " been obliged to employ ſo much art and " genius to erect into a hero a prince of " moderate talents whom he hated and " feared. But would they forgive a tranſ- " lator for fatiguing poſterity by the irkſome " repetition of praiſes which fear and ne- " ceſſity rendered excuſable in the mouth of " an orator who pronounced them on pain " of death ?

" THE PANEGYRIC ON THE EMPRESS " EUSEBIA † is a memorial of the gratitude " of Julian. He does not ſpeak there, how- " ever, ſufficiently from the heart. It is a " frigid, didactic, monotonous elogium. As " the author quotes in it ſome particulars of " antiquity, that are leſs known now than " they were then, the generality of readers

* *Orat.* I. *Orat.* II. Theſe two panegyrics contain many facts, and excellent principles of government. Julian wrote the ſecond in Gaul. Some Pagan phraſes occur in them, which would induce us to think that he retouched them after he had declared himſelf a Pagan. *Life of Julian.*

† *Orat.* III.

" would

" would think the piece too learned, and
" would not fail to say, that Julian intended
" to convince his benefactress that he made
" use of the library which she had given him.
" THE DISCOURSE IN HONOUR OF THE
" SUN-KING *, *in Solem Regem*, is an elo-
" gium on the *Logos* of Plato. Julian has
" some remarkable expressions on the sub-
" ject of that intelligence, the eternal pro-
" duction of the Sovereign God, of whom
" it is the living image, which, from all
" eternity, according to Julian, arranged the
" universe, which preserves and will always
" preserve it, which, holding the same place
" in the intelligible world that the sun
" holds among corporeal beings, is the
" source, the centre, the light of the sub-
" altern Gods, and of all the spirits to which
" virtuous souls will be reunited after death;
" which manifests its power, and resides, in an
" especial manner, in the star whose rays
" enlighten the material world. This work
" is useful and curious to such as wish to
" know fundamentally the philosophical pa-
" ganism of the Platonists of that time, and
" the system of religion which Julian formed

* *Orat.* IV.

" to himself. But this long discourse pre-
" sents such a confused mixture of meta-
" physics and physics; it has so much ver-
" bosity, so little justice and precision, that
" it can do no honour but to the fecundity
" of Julian, who composed it in the space
" of three nights.

" He employed only one in making the
" ELOGIUM ON THE MOTHER OF THE GODS*.
" It was composed at Pessinuntus in Phrygia,
" where was a temple of that Goddess, ap-
" parently to revive the zeal of the people.
" He tortures his genius and imagination to
" explain allegorically the fable of Cybele
" and Atys, with the ceremonies of their
" worship. All these efforts terminate merely
" in publishing, with the tone of an enthu-

* *Orat.* V. One of the orations of Julian is consecrated to the honour of Cybele, the Mother of the Gods, who required from her effeminate priests the bloody sacrifice so rashly performed by the madness of the Phrygian boy. The pious Emperor condescends to relate, without a blush, and without a smile, the voyage of the Goddess from the shores of Pergamus to the mouth of the Tyber; and the stupendous miracle, which convinced the senate and people of Rome that the lump of clay, which their ambassadors transported over the seas, was endowed with life, and sentiment, and divine power. For the truth of this prodigy he appeals to the public monuments of the city; and censures, with some acrimony, the sickly and affected taste of those men, who impertinently derided the sacred traditions of their ancestors. GIBBON.

" siast,

" ſiaſt, a romance of very obſcure phyſics. " If I perfectly underſtood it, I ſhould not " have tranſlated it, on account of the ob- " ſcenity of the poëtical fable, from which " Julian, nevertheleſs, endeavours to deduce " even ſome moralities.

" THE DISCOURSE entitled AGAINST IGNO- " RANT CYNICS *, *contra imperitos canes*, is " alſo an *impromptu* which he compoſed in " two days, at his leiſure hours, indignant " at the irreverence and audaciouſneſs of a " diſſolute Cynic, who, not contented with " leading a voluptuous life, ridiculed the " ſingularities of Diogenes, and treated him " as a coxcomb. Julian undertakes the apo- " logy of the maſter, and exerts himſelf " againſt the diſciple, with all the warmth " of a man, who, in order to be a new Dio- " genes, wanted only the wallet and ſtaff. " I think that this piece, though inferior to " thoſe which I have tranſlated, would not " diſpleaſe in French.

" I will not ſay the ſame of THE DISCOURSE, " which is addreſſed TO another Cynic, na- " med HERACLIUS †. This philoſopher, ha- " ranguing in the preſence of Julian, had de-

* *Orat.* VI. † *Orat.* VII.

" livered

" livered an allegorical fable, in which he " modeſtly took upon himſelf the part of " Jupiter, and gave the Emperor that of the " God Pan. Julian was ſtill more hurt by " the little reſpect with which the Cynic " mentioned the Gods. He was very near " impoſing ſilence on this profane declaimer. " But having then made an effort of patience, " as well from regard for the audience, as " for fear of being conſidered as he ſaid, as " a ſuſpicious man, who is ſcared at every " thing, he indemnifies himſelf by giving " ſcope to his zeal in a long diſcourſe; whoſe " object is to prove that a Cynic, an enemy, " by his profeſſion, to all diſſimulation and " diſguiſe, ought not to compoſe fables; or, " if he will compoſe them, that they ſhould " at leaſt be ſerious, inſtructive, religious. " This diſcourſe, which would be clearer, " if the fiction which ſhocked Julian were " known to us, contains ſome curious par- " ticulars relating to the origin and nature " of fable, on the ancient and modern " Cynics, &c. But what ſeems there moſt " worthy of attention is a fable by Julian, " which I ſhall preſently mention.

" Julian

" Julian was only Cæsar when he com-
" posed the piece entitled, A CONSOLATORY
" DISCOURSE ON THE DEPARTURE OF SAL-
" LUST *. It is the same Sallust whom
" Julian afterwards made Præfect of Gaul,
" and who must not be confounded with the
" Præfect of the East. Under Constantius
" he had a considerable employment in Gaul.
" His talents and fidelity having rendered
" him the intimate and confidential friend
" of the Cæsar, the jealousy and intrigues of
" the court did not fail to displace and recall
" him. Julian, who was sensible of all the
" greatness of his loss, endeavours, in this
" discourse, to console himself, and to com-
" fort his friend, for such a cruel separation.
" He regrets not only the charms and de-
" lights of an union founded on the love of
" virtue and the public good, but also the
" assistance of another self, who partook his
" engagements, his pains, and his pleasures,
" of a true man, whose like he despairs to
" find, who loved him without interest, re-
" proved him without arrogance, and told

* *Orat.* VIII.

" him

" him the truth without diſguiſe. He
" makes a very rare and moſt reſpectable
" confeſſion, eſpecially in the mouth of a
" prince; he ſays, in expreſs terms, that he
" owes to Salluſt all his reputation. In this
" work are ſentiment and principles; but
" they are a little choaked by the quo-
" tations and examples of antiquity. The
" piece was compoſed to be publiſhed, though
" the author was apprehenſive that it would
" not. On that account he confines himſelf to
" generals. It is plain, that, full of vexation,
" and pierced with a grief which he conceals
" in the bottom of his ſoul, he chooſes to
" tell Salluſt any thing but what he tells
" him. If he ſpeaks to him of Scipio, Lælius,
" Cato, Pythagoras, Plato, Democritus, Pe-
" ricles, Anaxagoras, &c. it is becauſe he
" dares not ſpeak of what intereſts him moſt.
" Thoſe who cannot be ignorant are reduced
" by ſervitude and conſtraint to pedantry:
" witneſs moſt of the Greeks who wrote
" under the Roman empire. Julian, as a
" private man or the Cæſar, lived in a
" moſt dreadful conſtraint. This perhaps
" is one of the cauſes of that miſplaced

" erudition

" erudition which disfigures many of his " works *.

" He could, however, forego erudition " when he pleased, as we may be convinced " by reading his MANIFESTO against the Em- " peror Constantius †. This work has no- " thing pedantic, but the being addressed TO " THE SENATE AND PEOPLE OF ATHENS, " whom Julian treats as he would have " done the Athenians in the time of Mil- " tiades, Aristides, and Themistocles. The " piece is written in a solid, noble, persuasive " manner, without declamation, without di- " gression, without a single quotation, even " from Homer, and gives occasion to presume " that the faults which are justly blamed " would not have been found in the other " works of Julian, if he had only exercised " his pen on happy subjects ‡.

" A long FRAGMENT § of instruction was " addressed by him, in quality of Sovereign " Pontiff, to a Pagan priest. It seems as if

* This Oration is omitted by M. de la Bleterie, but is translated in the following work.

† *Epist. ad S. P. Q. A.*

‡ I have also translated this Epistle. M. de la Bleterie has omitted it from " motives of delicacy," having interwoven almost the whole of it into his " Life of Julian."

§ FRAGMENTUM ORAT. AUT EPIST.

" Julian

" Julian there pretended to reduce Paganism
" into a system; and that the instruction was
" divided into two parts, the first of which
" concerned, if I may so express myself, the
" doctrine and the morals, and the second
" contained the rules of discipline. It is, in
" general, a valuable and a very honourable
" testimony to our religion, as, on one side,
" the reformer of Hellenism thinks nothing
" more proper to render it respectable than
" to borrow, if he could, from the Christian
" church, her discipline and manners; and,
" on the other, he substitutes to revealed
" facts some extravagant fables. He rejects
" what Moses informs us of the creation of
" Adam, in order gravely to utter a theurgic
" tradition, according to which, Jupiter,
" in arranging the universe, let fall some
" drops of blood, and of that sacred liquor
" formed mankind. In truth, religion is
" well avenged of its enemies by the very
" absurdities which they prefer to its tenets;
" *and sending them strong delusion, they shall*
" *believe a lie.* Such a one, who ridicules
" the fable of Julian, if he does not believe
" our sacred scriptures any more than Julian,
" admits, as to the origin of man, and a mul-

" titude

" titude of other points, ſome hypotheſes,
" which, by being inveſted with a meta-
" phyſical jargon, are not leſs irrational than
" his pretended tradition. In this ſame
" FRAGMENT the author avows that he
" would have rebuilt the temple of Jeru-
" ſalem; and we are ſenſible of all the im-
" portance of that avowal. The account of
" the rules which he preſcribes to his pontiffs
" is copied from the idea of what the church
" requires of her miniſters. On the ſubject
" of public entertainments, obſcene books,
" and romances, of that ſenſeleſs philoſophy
" which denies or calls in queſtion the ex-
" iſtence of God, his providence, and the
" immortality of the ſoul, he explains him-
" ſelf in ſo ſtrong and Chriſtian a manner,
" that nothing more would be wanting to
" ruin him in the opinion of ſome perſons,
" if the hatred which he expreſſes for the
" religion itſelf, of which he has preſerved
" thoſe remains, did not make him find fa-
" vour in their ſight. Nevertheleſs, how
" uſeful ſoever this FRAGMENT might be,
" my hand could not have a ſhare in copy-

" ing the blaſphemies which Julian there
" utters againſt our inſpired writers *.

" The BOOKS AGAINST THE CHRISTIAN
" RELIGION † which this prince compoſed
" during the long winter-nights, were an
" abſtract of what unbelievers oppoſed to
" Chriſtianity, and eſpecially of the objec-
" tions of Celſus, Hierocles, and Porphyry.
" Though the work was weak and immetho-
" dical, the delicacy and agreeableneſs of the
" ſtyle, as well as the purple of the author,
" gave it a great reputation. The Pagans pre-
" ferred it to every thing, and with their Ju-
" lian in their hands went forth to attack the
" Chriſtians. Superficial minds took, as uſual,
" witticiſms for reaſons, trite ſophiſtries for
" incontrovertible arguments, and the fre-
" quent quotations of ſcripture, with which
" the author paraded, as a proof that he was
" deeply verſed in ſacred literature, and that
" he had not ceaſed to believe it without
" knowledge of the cauſe. The Chriſtians,
" diſtracted by domeſtic controverſies, ne-
" glected to anſwer it; for infidelity is al-

* Omitting thoſe " blaſphemies," I have extracted the uſeful and inſtructive part of this Fragment, under the title of The Duties of a Prieſt.

† *S. Cyrilli contra Julian. libri* X.

" ways

" ways a gainer by our diſputes. They had
" a ſpecious pretext. Origen, Euſebius of
" Cæſarea, Methodius, and Apollinarius had
" anſwered it before. But the ſimple were
" ſcandaliſed; and not being able to diſcern
" of themſelves whether the ſilence of one
" of the parties concerned proceeded from
" weakneſs or contempt, were tempted to
" aſcribe the victory to him who was the
" laſt ſpeaker. About the year 400, Philip,
" of Side in Pamphylia, deacon of the
" church of Conſtantinople, under St. Chry-
" ſoſtom, endeavoured to avenge the honour
" of religion. The anſwer of Philip is loſt;
" and the opinion, which Socrates gives of
" another work by the ſame author, affords
" us no reaſon to regret it. At length, fifty
" or ſixty years after the death of Julian, St.
" Cyril of Alexandria, though very inferior
" to that prince in the art of writing, at-
" tacked the expiring refuge of Paganiſm,
" and deſtroyed it. This father has preſerved
" us a part of the work which he refuted.
" Theſe paſſages are leſs valuable to unbe-
" lievers than they perhaps imagine. They
" will find there ſome very mortifying con-

" ſeſſions *. Divines obſerve there ſome un-
" ſuſpected teſtimonies of the antiquity of
" ſome tenets †, of ſome cuſtoms and ex-
" preſſions. The refutation by St. Cyril,
" which he dedicated to the Emperor Theo-
" doſius the Younger, is learned, profound,
" deciſive againſt Julian and Paganiſm; but
" the peruſal of it would be more agreeable,
" if his pen were as elegant as that of Julian.
" Beſides, St. Cyril wrote for readers who
" were perſuaded that, if Paganiſm was falſe,
" Chriſtianity muſt neceſſarily be true. For
" this reaſon he applies himſelf leſs to anſwer
" directly the objections of Julian than to
" prove the weakneſs, or rather the nothing-
" neſs, of Paganiſm. This method, which
" was then ſufficient, would not be ſo well
" adapted to the neceſſities of our age, in
" which the ſame objections are unhappily
" too often repeated by men equally hoſtile
" to all religion. A direct refutation of
" theſe too famous books would be an em-

* *Cyrill. contr. Jul. l.* VI. 10.

† *Ibid. l.* X. Theſe paſſages are quoted in *La Vie de Julien, pp.* 244, 245.

" ployment

" ployment truly worthy of a philoſophical " divine *.

" It is uſeleſs here to mention ſome other " works, which have not reached us. I will " now give an account of thoſe which I " have tranſlated.

" THE CÆSARS † are deemed unqueſtion- " ably the maſter-piece of Julian. I expreſs " myſelf too freely, both as to his perſon " and his writings, to be charged with that " kind of idolatry which is too common in " tranſlators. I venture therefore to ſay, that " profane antiquity does not afford any piece " which is comparable to this for the merit " of the ſubject, and very few which ought " to be preferred to it for the merit of the " execution.

" A Roman Emperor, who has had the " advantage to be a private man, a mind " filled, and perhaps a heart penetrated, with " great maxims of government, a philoſo- " pher notwithſtanding all impediments, " born with much taſte and genius for rail- " lery, ready to ſeize the ridiculous, and never " letting it eſcape, in others, not even in

* Mr. Gibbon is pleaſed to call this " a ſtrange Centaur." Vol. II. p. 369.

† *Cæſares, ſive Convivium.*

" himſelf, knowing how to diſtinguiſh thoſe
" light clouds which conſtitute the difference
" between the middling and the good, the
" excellent and the perfect, between qualities
" which are eſtimable and thoſe which are
" only brilliant, nouriſhed with the reading
" of Plato and Ariſtotle, and ſpeaking their
" language like themſelves, aſſembles in one
" piece all the Emperors who reigned before
" him for the ſpace of about four hundred
" years.

" It is a moving picture, in which the
" ſpectator ſees rapidly paſſing before his
" eyes, but without confuſion, thoſe maſters
" of the world deſpoiled of their grandeur,
" and reduced to their vices and their virtues.
" By the aid of a ſimple and ingenious fiction,
" Julian makes thoſe who have diſhonoured
" the purple diſappear with ignominy; and
" among thoſe who deſerve to be placed
" in the number of ſovereigns he chooſes
" the moſt illuſtrious to make them contend
" for pre-eminence. Though he ſeems to
" leave the queſtion undetermined, it is ſuf-
" ficiently clear that Marcus Aurelius is the
" hero of the piece; that Julian gives him
" the preference, and means to announce to

" the

" the univerſe that he has taken that philo-
" ſophical Emperor for his model.

" Such is the general plan of the Satire,
" or rather of the Judgment, of THE CÆSARS.
" I do not think that in any work ſo ſhort
" are to be found at once ſo many characters
" and manners, ſo much refinement and ſo-
" lidity, ſo much inſtruction, without the
" author ever aſſuming a dogmatical tone,
" ſo much wit and pleaſantry, without his
" ever ceaſing to inſtruct. In a word, it
" ſeems to me that THE CÆSARS ought to
" undeceive, or at leaſt to embarraſs, thoſe
" who have voted an excluſive eſteem to the
" productions of ancient Greece.

" The work, however, is not exempt from
" faults. Not to mention ſome railleries
" that are either frigid, or ſeem ſo to us,
" nor a few groundleſs and too ſevere ſen-
" tences which Julian pronounces on certain
" Emperors, in whoſe memory no one at
" preſent is much intereſted, the no leſs un-
" juſt than indecent manner in which he
" treats his uncle, Conſtantine the Great, is
" inexcuſable. In ſpite of his inclination,
" not being able to avoid making him enter
" into competition with the moſt diſtin-

" guiſhed Emperors, he omits nothing that
" can ridicule and degrade him.

" This viſible partiality, produced by his
" hatred of our religion, and by other cauſes
" which I have taken care to develope in
" the remarks, can injure only Julian.
" Neither his envenomed ſtrokes, nor thoſe
" of Zoſimus, will prevent Conſtantine
" from being regarded as a prince of ſupe-
" rior merit, and highly worthy of the title
" of Great; any more than the extravagant
" elogiums of the Greeks, who give him the
" title of " equal to the apoſtles," will
" ever perſuade us that all his actions were
" conformable to the ſanctity of the goſpel,
" of which he declared himſelf the pro-
" tector. Without diſſembling either his
" faults or failings, I have detected the ca-
" lumnies by which a paſſionate enemy en-
" deavours to blacken him; and I have
" done it ſolely for the intereſt of the truth
" of hiſtory; for I am far from thinking,
" with this unjuſt cenſor, that the blows
" aimed at Conſtantine can fall upon re-
" ligion. If he has the glory to be the in-
" ſtrument which God employed to reſcue
" it from oppreſſion, he is not, after all,

" either

" either its founder or apoſtle. Without the " Emperors, and in ſpite of their efforts, " when Conſtantine embraced it, it had ſo " much prevailed, that he has been ſuſpected, " though falſely, of having embraced it from " policy. When we have the happineſs to " profeſs a religion ſo auguſt, ſo divine, " fixed on immoveable foundations, there " would be puſillanimity, not to ſay cow- " ardice, in thinking it dependent on, or " reponſible for, the reputation of its firſt " protectors. God, the ſupreme diſpoſer of all " events, and *who calls things that are not* " *as though they were*, could, and yet he did " not, have made Theodoſius have reigned " before Conſtantine, and have placed St. " Lewis at the head of our Chriſtian kings.

" I muſt obſerve, that in THE CÆSARS " is a ſort of contradiction. The author " there ſuppoſes the Gods ſuch as the poets " repreſent them, yet he often recurs to the " ideas of the philoſophers. This is not " a fault peculiar to him. It cannot be in- " ferred from hence that he meant to ridi- " cule religion, nor that he was a free- " thinker. He conſidered the fables of the " poets as fictions, which being taken lite-

" rally would have dishonoured the Deity;
" but persuaded that they must be turned
" into allegories, being a deist in speculation
" to a certain point, but a zealous pagan in
" practice, he conformed to the established
" language. This mixture of poetical and
" philosophical Paganism was not unusual.
" No one was hurt by it. We are justly
" shocked at it, and should be much more
" so, if reading the ancients had not fa-
" miliarised us to such absurdities.

" It is more than sixty years * since M.
" Spanheim, so well known in the republic
" of letters, undertook to translate THE
" CÆSARS into French. This learned fo-
" reigner was unacquainted with the refine-
" ments of our language; and his version
" no more resembles the original than a
" skeleton does a human body †. To the
" text he has added some remarks, has sup-
" ported his remarks by proofs, and en-
" riched them both with medals; the whole
" with so much profusion, that the small

* In 1683.

† In like manner, Mr. Gibbon styles this French version " coarse, languid, and correct." " The Abbé de la " Bleterie," he adds, " has more happily expressed the " spirit, as well as sense, of the original, which he has illus- " trated with some concise and curious notes."

" work

" work of Julian is in a manner loſt in a " quarto of above ſix hundred pages. It is " a maſter-piece of typography, a treaſure " of ancient literature ill-digeſted, and of " numiſmatic erudition. This book is or- " namental to libraries, but it alarms the " generality of readers, whom the ſight of " ſo prolix a commentary inſpires at leaſt " with indifference for a text which, they " ſuppoſe, requires ſo many illuſtrations. " Every one is not obliged to know that " commentators do not labour merely to " give the meaning of their author; that " they often chooſe him only for an oppor- " tunity of emptying their common-place- " books, and that they are generally as dif- " fuſe on the moſt eaſy paſſages as they are " ſuccinct, or even ſilent, on real difficulties.

" THE MISOPOGON * is a ſatire leſs diver- " ſified, but more ſingular, than THE CÆSARS. " Julian, driven to extremities by the inha- " bitants of Antioch, inſtead of avenging " himſelf, or of pardoning them, like a " prince, undertakes to avenge himſelf like " an author; and no author, I fancy, ever " conceived ſuch a project of revenge. He

* *Miſopogon, ſive Antiochus.*

" pretends

" pretends to turn his ill-humour againſt him-
" ſelf; he exaggerates his own imperfections,
" and repreſenting the good qualities that he
" may have as extravagances, he oppoſes them
" to the vices of Antioch, which he ironically
" exhibits as virtues.

" Julian draws himſelf more extraordi-
" nary than he really is, but he muſt have
" been very extraordinary to draw himſelf
" in ſuch a manner. If the work be defi-
" cient in dignity, it abounds with ſtrokes,
" ſallies, principles, and manners. Genius
" ſparkles throughout the whole; but the
" pleaſantry is too cauſtic and bitter. It is
" the laugh of a man in a paſſion, who acts
" the part of a philoſopher, and cannot ſup-
" port it to the end. He leaves at laſt the
" ironical tone, to aſſume that of invective
" and direct reproach. I think I may
" affirm that this ſatire flowed from the pen
" of Julian in a fit of chagrin and anger,
" and that he employed no more time in
" compoſing it than was neceſſary to write
" it. But ſuch as it is, it is an *unique*, and
" without having read it we cannot be ſuf-
" ficiently acquainted with Julian.

" A FABLE,

" A FABLE *, which I have taken from " the diſcourſe to the Cynic Heraclius, will " I doubt not be read with pleaſure. Julian, " in order to give him the model of an " inſtructive and religious fable, deſcribes, " in an allegorical fiction, but which it is " impoſſible to miſtake, the misfortunes of " his family, the dangers which he incurred " in his childhood, his ſyſtem in religion " and government. Though it is in proſe, " it is an excellent piece of poetry.

" The letters of celebrated men are ge- " nerally the moſt curious parts of their " writings. Many of the EPISTLES † of " Julian diſplay his mind, his genius, his " ideas on goverment and religion; others " throw light on hiſtory, ſacred and profane; " and there are ſome billets which prove " that he was very capable of ſucceeding in " the laconic ſtyle. Among his Epiſtles are " ſome of his laws. Two or three more I " have taken from the Theodoſian Code. " No Emperor made ſo many laws in ſo " ſhort a reign: excepting thoſe which re-

* *Ex Orat.* VII.

† *Epiſtolæ.* Of the LXXI. Epiſtles, thoſe to Themiſtius, Conſtantius, and the Athenians, included; M. de la Bleterie has tranſlated only XLVII.

" gard

" gard Chriſtianity, his are eſteemed by the " lawyers; but unfortunately the Codes of " Theodoſius and Juſtinian ſcarce ever give " more than the enacting part of the law, " and not the preamble, in which the genius " and eloquence of the legiſlator were diſ- " played.

" I have inſerted in its place the EPISTLE " TO THEMISTIUS *, which the editions " place at the end of the Orations. It is in " fact a treatiſe in the form of an Epiſtle, in " which the author, ſeeing the rocks that " ſurround the throne, expreſſes his anxieties " and apprehenſions, lays down excellent " maxims concerning the duties of a ſove- " reign, and acknowleges his incapacity with " a modeſty highly laudable, if it be ſincere. " We perceive in this work a ſtrain of de- " clamation, and ſomewhat rather vague. " It were to be wiſhed that the author had " applied a little more the principles which " he draws from Ariſtotle and Plato. But " it ſhould be conſidered that Julian, when " he compoſed this treatiſe, had juſt been " declared Cæſar by Conſtantius, and that " this new dignity had only increaſed his

* *Epiſtola ad Themiſtium.*

" ſlavery.

" ſlavery. The piece is free enough for the " time when it was written. Julian ven- " tures to ſpeak there as if he were inde- " pendent, or at leaſt as if he would one day " be ſo."

With a well-grounded confidence the learned writer adds, " Though the public is " prejudiced againſt notes, and regards them " as ſuperfluities which only ſerve to en- " large the volumes, I venture, however, to " intreat them to caſt their eyes on mine. " They are extremely laboured, and, I pre- " ſume, nothing will be found in them uſe- " leſs or trifling. I have entered into gram- " matical diſcuſſions only when I thought " them important, and to ſhew that I could " tire the reader by that kind of erudition " as well as others. If ſome ſhould think " that I ſtop too often to parry the weak " thruſts that Julian makes at Chriſtianity, " I will own, that, writing in a Chriſtian " nation, I am aſhamed to be obliged to re- " fute what deſerves only contempt. But as " for thoſe who ſhall think theſe precautions " exceſſive, I beg them to examine whether " they do not contribute to make them ne-

" ceſſary. *I am become a fool in glorying; ye* " *have compelled me* *."

The comment indeed of this learned foreigner is frequently ſuperior to the text; and the whole is ſuch a fund of critical, hiſtorical, and Chriſtian knowledge, that it cannot but be acceptable to an Engliſh reader. I muſt add, that I am alſo much indebted to the elegant (I am ſorry I cannot ſay, unexceptionable) *Hiſtory of the Decline and Fall of the Roman empire*, as will appear by the frequent quotations from that work in the notes. The Epiſtles of Libanius to Julian, which are alſo inſerted, and two Monodies on ſubjects mentioned in theſe works, will give ſome idea of the ſtyle of that ſophiſt.

Beſides the *Hiſtory of Jovian*, an abſtract of an Eſſay, by the Abbé de la Bleterie, " on " the rank and power of the Roman Em- " perors in the Senate," which has not, to my knowledge, appeared in Engliſh, is annexed.

Chriſt-Church, Canterbury, 1783. J. DUNCOMBE.

The following ſhort Annals and Pedigree of Julian may ſerve to illuſtrate the hiſtorical events occaſionally mentioned in his writings.

* *Preface à l'Hiſtoire de Jovien*, p. x.—lxiii.

AN-

ANNALS
OF THE
PRINCIPAL EVENTS
IN THE
LIFE of JULIAN.

FLAVIUS CLAUDIUS JULIAN was born at Conſtantinople. His mother, Baſilina, died a few months after. A. D. 331. Nov. 6.

His father, Julius Conſtantius, and moſt of his relations, were maſſacred by order of the Emperor Conſtantius. His half-brother, Gallus, is baniſhed into Ionia; and he is ſent to Nicomedia, where he is educated a Chriſtian by the biſhop Euſebius, and officiates as a lecturer in the church. He is put under the tuition of Mardonius, an eunuch. 337.

He is taken from ſchool, and confined ſix years with Gallus in a caſtle in Cappadocia. 345.

Gallus is created Cæſar, and goes to reſide at Antioch. 351. Mar. 5.

Julian

A. D. 351. Julian visits Edesius at Pergamus, and is perverted to Paganism by Maximus, who initiates him at Ephesus.

He is sent to complete his education at Constantinople under Ecebolus and Nicocles.

354. Dec. Gallus is deprived of the purple, and put to death in Dalmatia. Julian is conveyed to the court of Milan.

355. May. He is sent to study at Athens, where he is initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries.

Oct. He is recalled to Milan.

Nov. 6. He is declared Cæsar, and soon after marries his cousin Helena, sister to Constantius. Writes his 1st panegyrical oration on Constantius.

Dec. 1. Sets out for Gaul with 350 soldiers. Winters at Vienne, and there probably composes his Epistle to Themistius.

356 Jan. 1. Enters on his 1st consulship with Constantius (the VIIIth). Writes his 1:d panegyric on that prince.

June 24. Arrives at Autun. Twice defeats the Alemanni, and retakes Cologne.

Winters at Sens, where he repulses an attack of the enemy.

357 Jan. 1. Enters on his IId consulship, with Constantius (the IXth.)

Defeats

Defeats the Alemanni at Straſburgh, takes their king, Cnodomar, priſoner, &c. A. D. 357. Aug.

Paſſes the Rhine at Mentz.

Subdues the Franks. Winters at Paris. Dec.

Defeats the Salians and Chamavians. Paſſes the Rhine again. Two kings of the Alemanni ſurrender and ſue for peace. Winters at Paris. Writes his conſolatory oration on the departure of Salluſt. 358. July.

Paſſes the Rhine a third time, ſurpriſes ſix kings, who diſputed his paſſage, and reſcues 20,000 priſoners. Reſtores the ruined cities of Gaul. 359.

Winters again at Paris. Sends Lupicinus to Britain, to repulſe the Scots and Picts.

Enters on his IIId conſulſhip with Conſtantius (the Xth.) 360. Jan. 1.

The flower of the Gallic army being ordered by Conſtantius to march into the Eaſt, they mutiny at Paris, and proclaim Julian Emperor. April.

He paſſes the Rhine a fourth time (at Bonn) and ſubdues the Attuarii. Declares himſelf a Pagan. July.

Winters at Vienne, where he celebrates his fifth anniverſary, Nov. 6, 361. Loſes his wife. Oct.

Paſſes the Rhine a fifth time, and again defeats and reduces the Alemanni.

A. D. 361. Marches againſt Conſtantius, and ſeizes the paſs of Succi.

Writes from Sirmium and Naiſſus to Athens, and the other cities of Greece.

Nov. 3. † Conſtantius died at Mopſocrene in Cilicia, aged 45.

Dec. 11. Julian enters Conſtantinople, and reſtores the Pagan worſhip. Winters there, and writes the Cæſars.

362. May 15. Leaves Conſtantinople. In his way, viſits the temple of Cybele at Peſſinus in Phrygia, where he writes his vth oration.

June. Arrives at Antioch, where he winters.

Dec. Compoſes his books againſt the Chriſtian religion.

363. Jan. 1. Enters on his ivth and laſt conſulſhip, with Salluſt, præfect of Gaul. Attempts in vain to rebuild the temple of Jeruſalem.

Feb. Writes the Miſopogon.

March 13. Leaves Antioch, and marches againſt the Perſians, joining his army at Hierapolis, where he paſſes the Euphrates.

April 7. Paſſes the Chaboras, and enters the Perſian territories.

Beſieges and takes by aſſault Periſabor and Maogamalcha in Aſſyria.

† Ammianus ſays, Oct. 3. But Idatius, Socrates, Cedrenus, the Alex. Chronicle, and others, ſay as above.

Tranſports

Transports his fleet from the Euphrates to the Tigris. A. D. 363.

Forces the passage of the Tigris, but, unable to reduce Ctesiphon, and deceived by a Persian deserter, burns his fleet and magazines, and advances into the inland country, where he is severely distressed by famine. June.

Retreats towards the Tigris. 16.

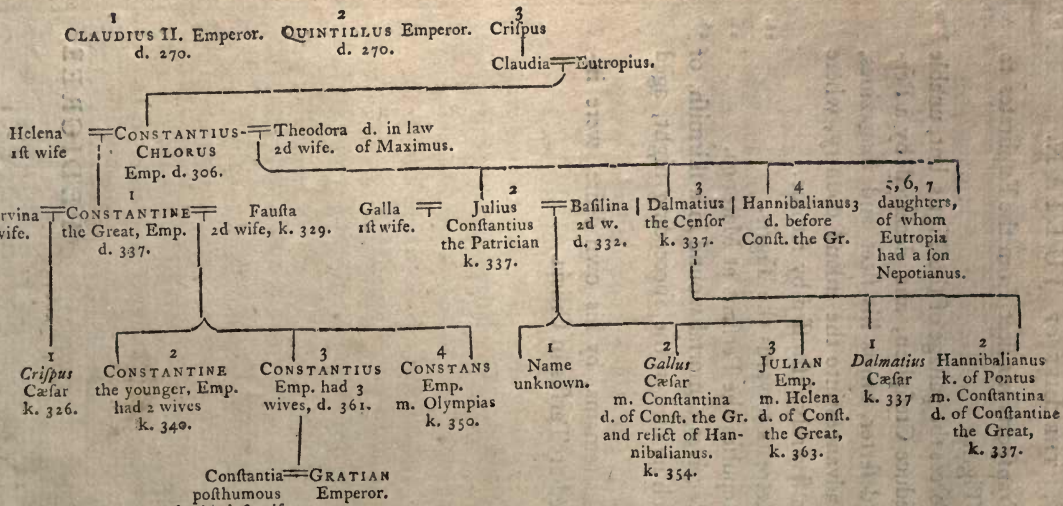
Repulses the Persians at Maronga. 22.

Receives a mortal wound in a skirmish, of which he died in the succeeding night, aged 32. 26.

His remains, by his own desire, were interred at Tarsus in Cilicia.

PEDIGREE

PEDIGREE OF JULIAN.



Of the fourteen princes descended from Constantius Chlorus, five only died a natural death; and with Julian the male line of the Flavian or Constantine family ended.

SELECT WORKS OF JULIAN.

GALLUS * CÆSAR TO HIS BROTHER JULIAN HEALTH †.

THE neighbourhood of Ionia has afforded me great joy, having diſpelled the concern and indignation that I felt at a former report. What that was I will inform you. I heard that you A. D. 351 or 352.

* Gallus was the elder brother of Julian, by a different mother, and having with him been ſecreted from the murderers of their relations in 337, they were baniſhed by the Emperor Conſtantius into Ionia, from whence, in 345, they were conveyed to the caſtle of Macellum in Cappadocia. There they were not only educated Chriſtians, but officiated as lecturers in the church of Nicomedia. Six years after, viz. on March 5, 351, Gallus was declared Cæſar by Conſtantius, and married to his ſiſter Conſtantina. He then went to Antioch, to preſide, with a delegated authority, over the three great dioceſes of the Eaſtern Præfecture, and from that city this Epiſtle was

 probably

you had departed from your former religion transmitted to you by your anceſtor ‡, and, hurried away by mad and wicked advice, had embraced a vain ſuperſtition. How did I grieve at this information! For as I conſider your good actions, whenever they are celebrated, as advantageous to myſelf, ſo I eſteem your bad deeds (which Heaven avert!) as much or more detrimental. But the anxiety which this intelligence gave me, has been removed by the arrival of our father Ætius *, as he

probably written, Julian being then in Ionia, whither Gallus had diſpatched Ætius to ſtrengthen him in the Chriſtian Faith. Conſtantius, in the mean time, was marching towards the Weſt. The ſubſequent imprudence of Gallus, and his fatal cataſtrophe in 354, are related by Julian in his Epiſtle to the Athenians.

† The learned F. Petau ſuppoſes this Epiſtle to be ſpurious, without aſſigning a reaſon. Meſſrs de Tillemont and Spanheim think it genuine. In fact, we find nothing in it which does not agree with what we know from other hands. La Bleterie.

‡ Gallus had ſome reaſon to ſuſpect the ſecret apoſtacy of Julian, and, in a letter to him, which may be received as genuine, he exhorts Julian to adhere to the religion of their anceſtors; an argument, which, as it ſhould ſeem, was not yet perfectly ripe. Gibbon.

The grandfather of Gallus and Julian, Conſtantius Chlorus, the father of Conſtantine the Great and Julius Conſtantius, had been very favourable to the Chriſtians, and perhaps was a Chriſtian in his heart. Nothing more is neceſſary to authoriſe, in ſome degree, the expreſſion uſed by Gallus, his grandſon. La Bleterie.

This conſtruction, it muſt be owned, is rather forced.

* Ætius, a Syrian by birth, a braſier, a goldſmith, an empiric, having ſtudied the categories of Ariſtotle, ſet up for a divine. He carried the principles of Arianiſm as far

as

he assures me, on the contrary, to my great joy, that you are zealously employed in houses of prayer †, and can hardly be removed from the tombs of the martyrs, but are totally attached to our worship. I must apply to you that expression of Homer: "Be this your aim ‡." Continue thus

as they would go; and, reviving the blasphemies of Arius, he plainly taught that the Word was only a creature. This occasioned his being styled *The Atheist*, not only by the Catholics, but even by the moderate Arians. Leontius, bishop of Antioch, did not scruple to ordain him a deacon; and Gallus took him for his oracle in divinity. Ætius was the dupe of Julian, who carried his dissimulation so far as to embrace a monastic life. Libanius speaks of this hypocrisy as if it were an innocent stratagem. "Though "Julian," says he, "had changed his religion, he still "professed the same, not being allowed to discover his "real sentiments. This was the reverse of the fable of "Æsop. The lion borrowed the skin of a vile animal. "Julian knew the better part, but he acted outwardly the "safest." *Liban. Orat. Parent.* We see that the panegyrist was no more scrupulous than the hero on the article of sincerity, even in the affair of religion. *Ibid.*

The death of Gallus was followed by the exile of Ætius. But he was recalled by Julian. See an Epistle from him to that prelate (as he was afterwards) the XXXIst.

† Σπουδαζειν σε εφη τας οικοις ευχαις. In the Latin translation it is, *Te in domibus studiosè versari.* "That you are "studiously employed in houses;" which, by omitting *precum* (ευχαις) conveys no meaning.

‡ Βαλλ' ητοι, *Sic jaculare.* Iliad. VIII. 282.

Thus, always thus, thy early worth be try'd. *Pope*, 340.

These are the words of Agamemnon to Teucer, who was shooting his arrows with success against the Trojans. It should be remarked that the Greeks, and those who spoke Greek, whether Pagans or Christians, quoted Homer on every occasion, and made continual allusions to some passages of this poet. The Pagans, and Julian in particular, had the same respect for Homer that we have for the canonical books. LA BLETERIE.

to delight all who love you, remembering that nothing is preferable to religion. For the perfection of virtue inſtructs us to deteſt the fallacy of falſehood, and to adhere to truth; which is principally apparent in piety towards God. But a plurality of Gods is productive of endleſs diſſenſions and uncertainty. One only Deity by his ſole power governs the univerſe *, not, like the ſons of Saturn, by lot and partition, but becauſe he is ſelf-created and has almighty power, not acquired by force, but exiſting before all things. This is the true God, and to him all worſhip is due. Farewell.

JULIAN CÆSAR TO THE PHILOSOPHER THEMISTIUS †.

A. D. 355 or 356. I Earneſtly wiſh to realiſe the expectations, which, you ſay, you have formed of me. But in this I fear I ſhall fail, as you promiſe much more for me than you ought to others, and eſpecially to yourſelf.

* We read in the text, Το δε μονον συν ενι υπαρχον ου βασιλευει τα παντος, which gives no meaning. I think that we ſhould read συν ενι υπαρχω. Gallus will then ſpeak like an Arian, like a faithful diſciple of Ætius. The Chriſtianity both of Julian and Gallus was in all appearance only Arianiſm.

LA BLETERIE.

† This philoſophical Epiſtle "on the dangers of ſovereign power" was written ſoon after Conſtantius had raiſed Julian to the dignity of Cæſar. It muſt not be forgotten that this was not only a deſignation to the empire, but alſo an actual

self. For long ago, on my supposing a competition between myself with Alexander and Marcus [Aurelius], I was wonderfully fearful and apprehensive of falling far short of the fortitude of the first, and of not making the least approach to the perfect virtue of the other. On these considerations, an idle life seemed to me most desirable; and recollecting with pleasure the Attic fables, I wished to sing them to my friends, as porters in the streets thus alleviate the weight of their bur-

actual association in a considerable part of the imperial power. The Greeks gave the Cæsar the title of βασιλευς δευτερος, or even, as they did the Emperor, simply that of βασιλευς. I shall presently mention why I cannot adopt the conjecture of F. Petau, who imagines that Julian composed this treatise when the death of Constantius had made him master of the empire. And I shall examine, in the sequel, whether the Themistius, to whom Julian writes, be the same whose works we have. LA BLETERIE.

Philosophy had instructed Julian to compare the advantages of action and retirement; but the elevation of his birth, and the accidents of his life, never allowed him the freedom of choice. He might perhaps sincerely have preferred the groves of the Academy, and the society of Athens; but he was constrained at first by the will, and afterwards by the justice, of Constantius, to expose his person and fame to the dangers of Imperial greatness; and to make himself accountable to the world, and to posterity, for the happiness of millions.

Julian himself has expressed these philosophical ideas with much eloquence, and some affectation, in a very elaborate Epistle to Themistius. The Abbé de la Bleterie, who has given an elegant translation, is inclined to believe, that it was the celebrated Themistius whose Orations are still extant. GIBBON.

Petau styles this, "not an Oration, but an Epistle;" but "because it is longer than an epistle," he places it among the Orations.

thens. But you, by your late epistle, have augmented my fears, and have proposed to me a much more arduous contention, by saying, that God has placed me in the same situation that Hercules and Bacchus were placed of old, who at the same time philosophised and reigned, and freed almost the whole earth and sea from the vices with which they were overwhelmed. You also advise me, banishing the thoughts of sloth and idleness, to consider how I shall act with propriety in this supposed contention. You then mention all the legislators, Solon *, Pittacus †, Lycurgus ‡; and you add, that the world may reasonably form greater expectations of me than it did of them.

On reading this passage I was struck with astonishment, knowing that you think it by no means allowable to flatter or falsify; and as to myself, being conscious of no superior talents, either natural or acquired, except my love of philosophy. Of the calamities, which have hitherto rendered this love imperfect, I say nothing. I knew not therefore what construction to put on these expressions, till this was suggested to me by Heaven, that you meant by thus praising to exhort me, and to display the magnitude of those trials to which every ruler must necessarily be exposed.

* One of the wise men of Greece, the lawgiver of Athens. See Plutarch and Diogenes Laërtius.

† Another of the wise men, contemporary with Crœsus, a philosopher of Mitylene. Some of his precepts are preserved in Ausonius *de Sapientia*.

‡ The lawgiver of Sparta. See Justin and Plutarch.

But

But this is rather a discouragement than a recommendation of such a state.

Suppose that a man navigating your strait *, and that not with ease or expedition, should be told by one skilled in divination, that he should traverse the Ægean, and afterwards the Ionian sea, and at last the main ocean. "Here," the prophet should say, "you see towns and harbours, but "there you shall discern neither watch-tower, nor "rock, happy if you discover some ship at a distance, "and can hail the crew. You shall often pray to "God for a safe return to land, even were your "life immediately to end; satisfied, if after having "reached the haven, and restored your ship to the "owners, and the mariners to their families, you "might commit your body to your native earth †." This might happen, but that it would must till the last moment remain uncertain. Do you think, that, after having heard this, such a man would even choose to dwell in a sea-port town? or rather, bidding adieu to riches and the profits attendant on commerce, to his domestic connections, to foreign friendships, and to the survey of distant cities and coun-

* It is difficult to conjecture what strait he means. I suspect it, however, to be the Bosphorus, and that Themistius was then at Constantinople. PETAU.

If I were sure that this Epistle was addressed to the celebrated Themistius, I should affirm, that this strait was that of Constantinople. LA BLETERIE.

† The ancients thought drowning the most dishonourable of deaths. Hence those passionate exclamations, under such an apprehension of Achilles in the Iliad, and Æneas in the Æneid.

tries, would he not think the advice of the ſon of Neocles *, "Live privately," the wiſeſt that could be given?

Of this you ſeem ſo apprehenſive, that you endeavour, by reproaching Epicurus, to prejudice me againſt him, and to eradicate that opinion. Theſe are your words; "that he, a man of no buſineſs, "ſhould praiſe idleneſs, and thoſe Peripatetic "diſputations, might well be expected." But that Epicurus was in this miſtaken, I have been long and am firmly perſuaded. Whether indeed it is proper to urge any one to public adminiſtration, who is naturally unqualified and of mean abilities, may deſerve farther enquiry. For even Socrates is ſaid to have withdrawn many from the forum who ſeemed not calculated for it; and he endeavoured, in particular, as Xenophon relates, to diſſuade Glaucon, and the ſon of Clinias †, but could not reſtrain the impetuoſity of that youth.

Shall we then compell thoſe who are conſcious of their own deficiencies, and urge them to be confident in ſuch undertakings as depend not ſo much on virtue and a right diſpoſition, as on fortune, who governs all things, and often forces us to follow her direction? Chryſippus ‡ in other things ſeemed

* Epicurus.

† Alcibiades.

‡ Chryſippus is ſtyled by Cicero "the moſt ſubtle inter-"preter of the Stoic dreams, and the ſupport of the Por-"tico." His chief ſtudy was logic, which he carried to a triſling degree of ſubtlety. Of his works, which filled 705 volumes,

ſeemed wiſe, and was juſtly ſo eſteemed; but his ignorance of fortune and chance, and other like cauſes, which happen independently of our actions, is not eaſily reconcileable with what time has evidently taught us by many examples. For in what particular ſhall we ſtyle Cato *, or Dion Siculus †, happy? Perhaps for their diſregard of death, but certainly not for their leaving the works in which they at firſt engaged imperfect, works to which they had diligently attended, and for which they would willingly have ſuffered the ſevereſt calamities. When diſappointed, they behaved, it is ſaid, with moderation, not repining at fortune, and derived no ſmall conſolation from virtue; but they could by no means be ſtyled happy, having failed in their greateſt undertakings, unleſs in the ſenſe of the Stoics. To which it may be anſwered, that to be praiſed and to be happy are not the ſame thing; and if all creatures naturally deſire

volumes, ſome titles only remain. He died about 200 years before the Chriſtian æra, and was honoured by the Athenians with a ſtatue in the Ceramicus. His death is ſaid to have been occaſioned by an immoderate fit of laughter at ſeeing an aſs eat figs. Chryſippus deſired the aſs might have a glaſs of wine to waſh them down, and was ſo diverted with his own conceit, that it coſt him his life. He is ſaid to have been a very copious and learned writer, but obſcure and immoral; though one would be inclined to think, from the reſpect with which he is mentioned by Epictetus, that this latter accuſation is groundleſs.

Mrs. CARTER.

* Of Utica.

† A nobleman of Syracuſe, attached to Plato, by whoſe counſel he freed his country from the tyranny of Dionyſius. He was afterwards aſſaſſinated by one of his friends.

happineſs,

happineſs, it is better for us to be declared happy than to be praiſed for virtue. Subſtantial happineſs by no means depends on fortune. Thoſe who are engaged in government cannot indeed breathe, as the ſaying is, without her * * * † as if philoſophy could form a general, and place him above the reach of chance, like the pure, incorporeal, and intelligent world of ideas, whether they are produced in reality, or formed falſly. He indeed who is, according to Diogenes,

Of city, country, houſe depriv'd,

has nothing more to loſe. But how can one whom cuſtom has called forth, and as Homer, the firſt of writers, ſays,

—— Who mighty nations guides,
Directs in council, and in war, preſides ‡,

conſiſtently place himſelf out of the reach of fortune? And if he be really ſubject to it, with what conſideration and prudence muſt he act, ſo as

† Before this paſſage we have placed aſtericks, as ſomething here is wanting. But in our MSS a fragment was inſerted of another epiſtle, which, if I miſtake not, Julian wrote to Arſacius, a High Prieſt, in which he gave ſome directions relating to religion and the worſhip of the gods. This we have extracted, and publiſhed ſeparately, in another place; but what follows ſeems addreſſed to Themiſtius. PETAU.

The above-mentioned Fragment of an oration, or epiſtle, (ſo ſtyled) is characteriſed in the preface, and that unobjectible part of it, which contains "The Duties of a "Prieſt," is detached and inſerted, under that title, among theſe "Select Works."

‡ Iliad, II. 25. Pope, 27.

to

to ſuſtain with equanimity, like a ſage pilot, the ſtorms that aſſail him on every ſide?

If admiration be due to thoſe who withſtand her attacks with fortitude, much more is it deſerved by thoſe who receive her favours with moderation. By them the greateſt of kings, the conqueror of Aſia, was ſubdued, as in cruelty and inſolence he far ſurpaſſed Darius and Xerxes, after he had conquered their dominions. By theſe weapons the Perſians, Macedonians, Athenians, Syracuſans, the Lacedæmonian magiſtrates, the Roman generals, and, laſtly, many emperors, were attacked and totally deſtroyed. It would be endleſs to enumerate all who have fallen a prey to wealth, ſucceſs, and luxury. And why ſhould I mention thoſe, who, overwhelmed by misfortunes, from freemen have become ſlaves, from noble mean, and from ſplendid abject? Would to Heaven, that human life afforded no ſuch inſtances! But ſuch there have been, and ſuch there always will be, as long as the world exiſts.

But that I may not ſeem ſingular in thinking that Fortune has the chief ſway in human affairs, I refer you, intelligent as you are and my inſtructor, to Plato, in his admirable book on Laws; and to convince you that I have not weakly imbibed this idea, I will tranſcribe the paſſage*: "God, and, with "God,

* All this paſſage is taken from the fourth book of Plato *de Legibus*, which, in ſome places, we have corrected from Plato

" God, Fortune, or Opportunity, govern all things
" human, but a third must be annexed; Art must
" attend them, as an associate." He then proceeds to shew, that every king, every sovereign artificer of great actions, should be a kind of King-God. " Saturn," he says, " knowing (as we have
" before observed) that human nature is not of it-
" self capable of governing mankind with supreme
" power and absolute authority, without giving
" way to insolence and injustice, then * placed at
" the head of our states, as kings and magistrates,
" not men, but genii of a divine and more ex-
" cellent nature; as we act with regard to our
" flocks and herds. For we never make an ox
" the super-intendant of oxen, nor a goat of
" goats; but they are governed by us, a supe-
" rior race. In like manner †, the God, being
" a lover of mankind, has set over us a race of
" superior beings, who, with great ease both to
" themselves and us, undertake the care of us,
" and, dispensing peace, innocence ‡, and justice,

Plato himself. Others, which Julian seems to have expressed differently, we have remarked in the margin.

PETAU.

Petavius observes, that " this passage is taken from the " fourth book *de Legibus*;" but either Julian quoted from memory, or his MSS. were different from ours. Xenophon opens the Cyropædia with a similar reflection. GIBBON.

The variations, which are specified in the notes, are few and immaterial, being chiefly verbal.

* The word τοτε (" then") is not in Plato.

† Αρα, a kind of expletive, occurs here in Plato.

‡ Και ελευθεριαν και αφθονιαν (" and freedom and plenty"), is added in Plato.

" preserve

" preſerve mankind in tranquillity and happineſs. " And this is agreeable to truth and reaſon; for " thoſe ſtates * which are governed, not by a God " but by ſome mortal, have no ceſſation from evils " and oppreſſions. We ſhould therefore exert our " utmoſt efforts to imitate the life that was led in " the reign of Saturn, and, with as much immor- " tality as we have remaining, to govern, by his " directions, both in public and private, our fami- " lies and our ſtates, conſidering † the law as the " application of the divine mind. But whether " one man, or a few, or a number of people ‡, " govern any ſtate, if their minds are enſlaved by " pleaſure, and through a deſire § of indulging it " they trample on the laws, there is no chance " of ſafety."

I have tranſcribed this whole paſſage of Plato on purpoſe to prevent your ſurmiſing, that I quote the words of the ancients fraudulently or erroneouſly, and without regard to the connection. But what ſays this paſſage really on the ſubject? You ſee, that, though a prince be by nature human, he ſhould, in his conduct, be a divine and ſuperior being, and entirely baniſh from his

* There is alſo a ſmall difference here; ὅσων πολεων and ἀρχὴ in Julian, ὡς ὁσον αν πολεων and ἀρχαι in Plato.

† Νομιζοντας in Julian, ἐπονομαζοντας in Plato.

‡ In other words, and nearer to the original, " a mo- " narchy, an oligarchy, or a democracy."

§ There follows in Plato γιγνεσαν δε ἡδεν· ἀλλ' ἀνυητω και ἀπλησω κακω νοσημαὶι ξυνεχομενην ἀρξει δε, κ. τ. λ. which Julian perhaps, for the ſake of brevity, omitted. PETAU.

ſoul

ſoul every thing that is mortal and brutiſh, except what muſt neceſſarily remain for corporeal uſes. If any one, reflecting on this, ſhould dread being engaged in ſuch a ſtate of life, would you rather recommend to him the Epicurean tranquillity, the gardens and ſuburbs of Athens, and the myrtles and cottage of Socrates? But I never preferred them to toils and dangers *. Theſe labours I would willingly recount to you, and the hazards to which I was expoſed from my friends and relations, when I was firſt inſtructed by your precepts, were you not well acquainted with them. To my conduct in Ionia, in oppoſition to one who was my relation by birth, but much nearer by friendſhip, and in favour of a man who was a foreigner, and little known to me, you are alſo no ſtranger. Did I not go abroad for the ſake of my friends? In behalf of Carterius, I need not tell you, I went unſolicited, and intreated the aſſiſtance of my friend Araxius †. On account of the effects of the excellent Areta, and the injuries which ſhe had ſuffered from her neighbours, did I not travel twice within two months into Phrygia, though my body

* The facts which Julian produces to prove that he never wanted courage fully convince me that this Epiſtle was prior to his reſidence in the Gauls. How many marks of firmneſs, how many valiant deeds, might he not have alleged, if it had been written after he was proclaimed Auguſtus? La Bleterie.

He might probably compoſe it at Vienne, where he paſſed the winter after his being appointed Cæſar.

† Ammianus mentions Araxius towards the end of b. xxvi, and relates, that, having eſpouſed the party of Procopius, when he was killed he was baniſhed to an iſland, and afterwards ſet at liberty. Petau.

was infirm in conſequence of a diſorder contracted by former fatigues? Laſtly, before my journey into Greece, while I continued with the army, many would ſay, with the utmoſt hazard, recollect what kind of letters I wrote to you, whether they were in a plaintive ſtrain, or exhibited any marks of littleneſs, meanneſs, or ſervility. When I went again into Greece, did not I congratulate my good fortune, as if it had been a feſtival, affirming, that the change was moſt delightful to me, and that, according to the ſaying, I had gained

—Gold for braſs, what coſt a hundred beeves
For the low price of nine * ?

Such was my joy on being allowed to reſide in Greece, though I had neither a houſe, nor any land, not ſo much as a field or a garden there. But perhaps you will ſay, that though I may ſeem to bear adverſity with firmneſs, yet I am abject and puſillanimous in proſperity, as I prefer Athens to the ſplendor that now ſurrounds me †, regret that indolence, and, on account of my numerous avocations, deteſt my preſent ſtate of life. But a better opinion of us ſhould be

* Iliad. vi. 236. thus paraphraſed by Pope, 292.
For Diomed's braſs arms, of mean device,
For which nine oxen paid, a vulgar price,
He gave his own, of gold divinely wrought,
A hundred beeves the ſhining purchaſe bought.

† The Cæſars had all the marks of the Imperial power, excepting the diadem. LA BLETERIE.

formed of us, not only with regard to idleneſs and employment, but according to that maxim, "Know "thyſelf," and

That trade which he has learn'd let each man practiſe.

To govern ſeems to me more than human; and a king, as Plato ſays, "ſhould be of a ſuperior nature."

I will now quote a paſſage from Ariſtotle, to the ſame purpoſe; not "to carry owls to Athens *," as the ſaying is, but to ſhew that I have not entirely neglected his works. In his Political Diſcourſes †, he thus expreſſes himſelf: "If any one "ſhould think it beſt for a nation to be governed "by a king, what ſhall be determined in regard "to his children? Muſt his deſcendants alſo reign? "If they muſt, however incapable, much inconve- "nience may enſue. But will not the ſovereign "in poſſeſſion leave the government to his ſons ‡? "That he will not can ſcarce be ſuppoſed, as "being a taſk too arduous, and requiring a grea-

* Γλαυκα Αθηναιοις αγων, *Noctuas Athenis ducens.* To the ſame purpoſe is our Engliſh proverb, "carrying coals to "Newcaſtle." Equally needleſs was any information from Ariſtotle to Themiſtius.

† *Ariſtot. de Republicâ, lib.* III. *cap.* 15.

‡ In Ariſtotle it is Αλλ' ὁ καλαλειψει τους υιεις διαδοχους ὁ βασιλευς, ἐπ' ἐξουσιας ἐχων τουτο ποιησαι; "Will not the king "leave his ſons his ſucceſſors, if he has it in his power?" The inſtance of Marcus Aurelius and his degenerate ſon Commodus (ſee the Cæſars, p. 161.) ſeems a caſe in point. The "taſk" of diſinheriting ſuch a monſter was too arduous, "the virtue" too exalted, even for that philoſopher.

ter

" ter degree of virtue than is the lot of human " nature."

Afterwards, ſpeaking of a king who governs according to law, of which he is the miniſter and guardian, and ſtyling him, " not a king," but ranking him in another claſs, he adds *, " As to " abſolute monarchy †, or arbitrary power, ſome " think it inconſiſtent with nature for one to be lord " of all ‡. For all men, being by nature equal, have " the ſame natural rights §." And, a little after, he ſays, " Whoever therefore would have reaſon " govern, would have God and the laws govern. " But whoever would give the government to man, " would give it to a wild beaſt ‖. For ſuch is con- " cupiſcence, and anger alſo debaſes ** the beſt men. " Law therefore is reaſon, exempt from paſſion."

The philoſopher, you obſerve, ſeems here to diſtruſt and reprobate human nature. For he ſays, in effect, that human nature is by no means equal to the eminence of ſuch an exalted ſtation. He thinks it difficult for a prince to prefer the general good of the ſtate to that of his

* *De Republ. l.* III. *c.* 16.

† Παμβασιλεια.

‡ Both the prince and the philoſopher chooſe, however, to involve this eternal truth in artful and laboured obſcurity. GIBBON.

§ There follows in Ariſtotle, Και την αυλην αξιαν καλα φυσιν ειναι (" And, according to nature, the ſame rank.")

‖ Ο δε ανθρωποκελευων, θηριον και θηριον. The MS. of Voſſius, unſatisfied with " a ſingle beaſt," affords the ſtronger reading of θηρια (" beaſts"), which the experience of deſpotiſm may warrant. GIBBON.

** Αρχοντας και (" magiſtrates and") is inſerted in Ariſtotle.

children, He says, that "it is unjust for one to "govern many of his equals." And at last, in the close of his discourse, he adds, that "law is "reason, exempt from passion;" and that "go- "vernment should be entrusted to law alone, and "not to any man. For the reason that men pos- "sess, even if they are virtuous, is debased by "anger and lust, most savage beasts."

This doctrine of Aristotle seems perfectly agreeable to that of Plato. First, he thinks that the governor ought to excell the governed, not only in virtue, but in nature; which is not easy to find among men. And also, that he should, to the utmost of his power, obey the laws, not those which were enacted on a sudden emergency, or compiled by men who were not entirely governed by reason; but by such, as, having pure minds and souls, had a view not only to present offences and contingencies, but from the nature of government, and also the nature of justice and of guilt, after obtaining all possible instruction, framed laws for all the people in general, without respect to friend or foe, to neighbour or relation. And this is much preferable, as they meant to promulge and transmit their laws, not to their contemporaries only, but to posterity and foreigners, with whom they never had, nor expected to have, any connection or intercourse. I have heard that the wise Solon, though by his civil institutions he made the people free, incurred much reproach by consulting with

his friends as to cancelling of debts *, and thus giving them an opportunity of improving their fortunes. So difficult it is to avoid such fatalities, even though a man were to enter into the public service unimpassioned.

As such are my apprehensions, I often regret my former state of life, and, in deference to you, I reflect that you have said, not only that those great legislators, Solon, Lycurgus, and Pittacus, were proposed for my emulation †, but also that I must quit the shade of philosophy for the open sunshine. As if you should say to a man, who, for the sake of his health, had used moderate exercise at home, "You must now repair to Olympia ‡, and "exchange your domestic recreation for the games "of Jupiter; where your spectators will be the "Greeks resorting from all parts; and, in parti-"cular, your fellow citizens, for whom you must "enter the lists; and also some Barbarians, whom "you must astonish, in order to render your country "as formidable to them as you can." This would immediately alarm him, and make him enter the lists with terror. Suppose me now affected in the same manner by your epistle. Whether my opinion on the subject be just or not, whether I am a little

* Before the resolution which Solon had taken to extinguish debts transpired in public, some of his friends borrowed large sums, well knowing that they should be excused from paying them. LA BLETERIE.

† See p. 7.

‡ A town of Peloponnesus, where was a temple of Jupiter, in honour of whom the Olympic games were celebrated there every fifth year.

miſtaken, or totally err, I expect to learn from you.

The matters in your epiſtle as to which I am doubtful, and therefore wiſh you to explain, my deareſt and moſt reſpectable friend, ſhall now be mentioned. You "prefer," you ſay, "an active "to a philoſophical life;" and you appeal to the teſtimony of the wiſe Ariſtotle, who makes happineſs conſiſt in acting well; but "whether a po- "litical or a contemplative life ſhould be preferred, "he was," you ſay, "rather undetermined." For, in ſome places, he gives the preference to contemplation; in others, he commends the "architects," as he ſtyles them, "of illuſtrious deeds." "Among "theſe," you ſay, "are kings." But Ariſtotle never uſes the word which you have introduced. And the contrary may rather be inferred from the paſſage that you have quoted. For inſtance: "We think thoſe acquit themſelves moſt properly "in all external actions, who are, as it were, men- "tal architects." This may be ſuppoſed to mean law-givers, or political philoſophers, and all who act merely by thought and reaſon, rather than the artificers of civil tranſactions; for whom it is not ſufficient to conſider, and deviſe, and inſtruct others in their duty; but every thing that the laws direct, or circumſtances may require, they muſt undertake and execute themſelves; unleſs we call him n architect, who is

——— in m hty actions ſkill'd *,

* Μεγαλων επιτορα εργων. Odyſſ. xxi. 26.

as Homer poetically ſtyles Hercules, the greateſt of ſuch artificers.

But if we admit this to be true, and think thoſe only happy who have adminiſtered public affairs, ſuch as have ruled or reigned over many, what then ſhall we ſay of Socrates? As to Pythagoras *, and Democritus †, and Anaxagoras ‡ the Clazomenian, they, perhaps you will ſay, were in another reſpect happy, on account of their contemplations. But Socrates, rejecting a ſpeculative, and preferring an active life, could not govern his own wife, nor his ſon, nor indeed reſtrain two or three diſorderly citizens. Will you ſay, that he was not active, as he was not a ruler? On the contrary, I maintain, that the ſon § of Sophroniſcus performed greater actions than Alexander ‖; for to him I aſcribe

* A philoſopher of Samos, who travelled as far as India, through Ægypt, in ſearch of knowledge; and on returning opened a ſchool in a remote part of Italy (Magna Græcia), in the reign of Tarquin the Proud. See Cic. *Tuſc. Quæſt.* IV. 1. He held the tranſmigration of ſouls, and was thought by his ſcholars infallible.

† Of Abdera, from his ridiculing the eager purſuit of welath and honour, known by the name of the laughing philoſopher. Yet his own father was ſo rich, that at one time he feaſted Xerxes and his army. He died at the age of 99 years. See Cic. *de Fin.* v. 29. and *Acad.* IV. 17.

‡ A man of high birth, and a higher mind, the preceptor of Pericles. See the Conſolatory oration on the deprture of Salluſt.

§ Socrates. His father was a ſtone-cutter of mean fortune, and his mother (Phænarete) a midwife.

‖ Julian is right in preferring Socrates to the conqueror of Aſia, the wiſeſt and moſt enlightened of philoſophers to the ſcourge of mankind. But whatever he may ſay of pretended philoſophical converſions, as rare as defective,

men derived very little advantage from the instructions of Socrates: witness the deplorable state in which the nations by whom philosophy was most cultivated were with regard both to religion and manners before the publication of the gospel. It was reserved for twelve men, of the dregs of the people, and of a nation which Athens and Rome considered as barbarous, to effect in the world a reformation which philosophy had never attempted and deemed impossible. If men had had for apostles only Socrates, and the philosophers of different sects proceeding from his school, the world would still have been what it was formerly. In the midst of the profoundest darkness, some men, a little less blind than the vulgar, and often more vicious, had a glimpse of a small number of truths, which served as food for their pride, and exercise for their tongues, rather than as a rule for their conduct. Some considered every thing as problematical, even the existence of God, and the principles of morality. Others, raving at vice, dishonoured virtue, and affronted public decency. Some performed virtuous actions, but from fanaticism and self-love. Many concealed, and badly concealed, under the philosophical cloak, some abominations which now we dare not name. The most enlightened, through want of zeal for the truths with which they were best acquainted, and besides not being able to support them but by subtle and far from popular arguments, held them in captivity. They had not the courage merely to propose to the multitude the fundamental tenet of the unity of God. The people, without instruction, without principles, without manners, without an idea of the duties of man, rushed headlong into all the horrors of idolatry; and the pretended sages, such as Socrates, Plato, Cicero, Seneca, &c. had the meanness to worship in the temples the same Gods whom they ridiculed in their schools and in their writings: or at the most, like Julian, and the Platonists of his time, by the aid of some arbitrary system they formed a monstrous mixture of the tenets of the divine unity together with the speculative and practical follies of polytheism. It is even more than probable, that the general corruption and the various revolutions that happened in the world would have absolutely extinguished the weak lights of philosophy if Christianity had not come to strengthen, purify, and extend them, and to place within the reach of the dullest minds both what the philosophers could not, and what they dared not, teach. Probably the nations which dismembered

the military skill of Xenophon *, the fortitude of Antisthenes †, the Eretrian ‡ and Megarean § philosophy; a Cebes ‖, a Simmias **, a Phædon ††, and innumerable others; not to mention the colonies that we have received from Athens; from the Lyceum, the Porch, and the Academies ‡‡. Who is now preserved by the victories of Alexander?

bered the Roman empire would again have plunged us into barbarism, if the Christian religion had not civilised them. Will those who oppose it never have the equity to consider, that without it they would certainly have been abandoned to the most foolish superstitions, and perhaps have been in a state similar to that of the savages of America? LA BLETERIE.

* Of the "military skill" of Xenophon there needs no other proof than the retreat of the ten thousand Greeks, which he conducted.

† The founder of the sect of the *Cynics*, which Diogenes, one of his principal hearers, rendered so considerable. *Patientiam*, says Cicero (*de Orat.* III. 17.) *et duritiam in Socratico sermone maximè adamarat.* He styles him also (*ad Attic.* XII. 38.) *hominis acuti magis quàm eruditi.*

‡ From Menedemus, because he was of Eretria [in Eubœa] the Eretrians were so called; all whose good was placed in the mind, and the quickness of its apprehension, by which truth is discerned. *Cic. Acad.* IV. 42.

§ From Euclid, a disciple of Socrates, who was of Megara [in Achaia], his followers were styled Megareans, who maintained that only to be good which was single, and always the same. *Ibid.*

‖ Of Thebes. He wrote three dialogues, whose titles are preserved by Diogenes Laertius (*Vit. Philos.*) The first of them, his *Table*, is still extant.

** Of Thebes also. Laertius enumerates twenty-three of his dialogues.

†† Phædon of Elis was first a slave, but being emancipated he studied philosophy, and became the chief of the sect called Elean.

‡‡ The schools of Aristotle, Zeno (or the Stoics) and the Academics.

What nation is more wisely governed, what individual is improved, by them? Many you may find whom they have enriched, but none whom they have made wiser, or more temperate, either in themselves, or towards others: on the contrary, they have fomented pride and insolence; while all who are now reformed by philosophy, are reformed by Socrates. In this opinion I am supported by Aristotle, who seems to mean the same, by saying, that "the theological work *, which he was composing, required as great abilities as those which "subverted the Persian empire." In this I think he reasoned right. For victories are principally owing to courage and fortune, and, if you please, a kind of prudential cunning. But he who conceives true ideas of God is not only endued with perfect virtue, but it may justly be doubted whether such a one should be styled a man or a God. For if it be true, that all things are so constituted as to be best known by those who are connected with them, he who is acquainted with the divine nature may, in like manner, be deemed a pure intelligence.

But since I am returned to the comparison between a contemplative and an active life, from which I had digressed, and which, at the beginning of your epistle, you wished to decline; I will

* Τῃ θεολογικῃ συγγραφῃ, "On the nature of God." The sequel shews, that it should be thus translated. I know not what this work of Aristotle is; and Julian, if I mistake not, is the only one who has mentioned it. LA BLETERIE.

mention

mention the same philosophers that you did, Areus *, Nicolaus †, Thrasyllus ‡, and Musonius ||. Not one of these had the government of his country; though Areus, it is said, refused the præfecture of Ægypt, which was offered him. But Thrasyllus, being the intimate friend of that cruel tyrant Ti-

* A philosopher and a man of learning, who, with his two sons, Dionysius and Nicanor, was attached to the person of Augustus, whose confidence he possessed. Seneca says, that he was the comforter of Livia, when she seemed inconsolable for the loss of Drusus. *Senec. Consolat. ad Marciam.* La Bleterie.

† A friend of Augustus, M. Agrippa, and Herod the Great, who learned of him philosophy. At the desire of that king of the Jews, he wrote an universal history. He did honour to philosophy by his disinterestedness and generosity. He anticipated in every thing the wants of his friends, and said, that "money, like instruments of music, "was only useful to those who employed it." He composed the Life of Augustus, or rather the history of his education. We have only some fragments of his works, which are in the extracts of Constantine Porphyrogenetus, published by M. de Valois. *Ibid.*

‡ A Platonic philosopher and a celebrated astrologer. It appears in Tacitus, *Annal.* VI. with what address and presence of mind he contrived to escape the cruelty of Tiberius, and to gain his confidence. *Ibid.*

|| C. Caius Musonius Rufus, a Roman knight. Not contented with professing the Stoic philosophy, he endeavoured to diffuse it among the young nobility of Rome, and speaking freely of the conduct of Nero, that tyrant committed him to a dreadful prison, from whence he sent him first into the island of Gyaros, and afterwards to the isthmus of Corinth, there to work in chains. A friend commiserating his situation, "I had rather be here," said Musonius, "than act on a stage like Nero." After the death of his persecutor, he returned to Rome, and was the only philosopher whom Vespasian did not expell. As Julian says, that Musonius sustained the cruelty "of tyrants," he was again persecuted by some other besides Nero; no doub by Domitian. *Ibid.*

berius,

berius, unleſs he had exculpated himſelf by the diſcourſes that he has left, would have contracted a perpetual and indelible ſtain. Thus civil government was of no ſervice to him. Nicolaus was the artificer of no great deeds, and he is better known by his writings concerning them. Muſonius alſo, by ſupporting with fortitude and ſubduing by firmneſs the cruelty of tyrants, became diſtinguiſhed, and was no leſs happy than thoſe who governed the greateſt kingdoms. As for Areus, when he refuſed the præfecture of Ægypt, he willingly deprived himſelf of the greateſt happineſs, if he thought an active life the greateſt. You yourſelf too are inactive, as you neither command an army *, nor harangue the people, nor govern any nation

* Indeed the Themiſtius, with whom we are acquainted, was not a warrior. Nor did he harangue the people; no one, I imagine, had then that privilege, except the Emperors and Cæſars. He was not Præfect of Conſtantinople till the reign of Theodoſius. Nevertheleſs, the manner in which Julian here mentions the Themiſtius, to whom he is writing, would make one think, that he was rather a mere philoſopher, concentered in his ſchool, than the celebrated Themiſtius, who had been made ſenator of Conſtantinople two months before Julian was named Cæſar, and who had always the ambition to be at once a philoſopher and a ſtateſman. Beſides, the Themiſtius to whom the epiſtle is addreſſed, appears to have been one of the moſt intimate friends of Julian; and Themiſtius the ſenator, in an oration pronounced in the reign of Theodoſius, in which he boaſts of the regard which the Emperors had had for him, intimates that Julian did not love him, becauſe, he ſays, that prince had been forced (by truth, no doubt) to acknowledge him for the firſt of philoſophers. In ſhort, what is ſtill of more conſequence,

Julian

nation or city: but does it follow, that you are not wise? And if you should form several philosophers, or only three or four, you would contribute more essentially to the happiness of mankind than many kings united. A philosopher acts no inconsiderable part; he is not, as you have said, the director only of public counsels, nor is his action confined to thinking. But if he confirm his words by his deeds, and appear such as he would have others to be, he will urge to action

Julian was not Cæsar when Themistius was made senator; yet Themistius, in the discourse where he thanks Constantius for his new dignity, congratulates the Emperor on having taken Julian for his colleague. These difficulties are very strong; but may it not be said in answer, 1. That Themistius was perhaps one of the senators who were styled *allecti* or *immunes*, and who enjoyed all the privileges of senators, without being obliged to exercise the functions? 2. Themistius was at least as good a courtier as philosopher. Policy therefore did not allow him to boast, in the reign of Theodosius, of having been the friend of Julian. He rather chose to have it then believed, that, if that prince had given him great marks of esteem, it was not so much from inclination and choice, as because he could not refuse them. The vanity of Themistius, which is very apparent in the oration in question, concurred with policy to make him speak this language. 3. It is true, that the letters by which Constantius made Themistius senator were read in the senate of Constantinople on the first of September, 355, and that Julian was not declared Cæsar till the sixth of November following; but the acknowledgement in which the new senator mentions the association of Julian was, as appears by the discourse itself, pronounced some time after the letters of Constantius had been read at Constantinople, and when it was just known that Julian was Cæsar. Nothing hinders our supposing that two months and a half, or three months, intervened between the reading of those letters and the discourse in question. LA BLETERIE.

with

with more perſuaſion and effect than thoſe who excite to it by command.

But I muſt now return to the ſubject with which I began, and conclude an epiſtle already perhaps too long. This is the ſum of it; that it is not for the ſake of avoiding fatigue, nor of purſuing pleaſure, nor from a love of ſloth and idleneſs, that I am averſe to public buſineſs; but, as I ſaid at the beginning, from a conſciouſneſs of my not having ſufficient knowledge or genius, and alſo from an apprehenſion of throwing a reproach on philoſophy (whom though I love I have not won, and who by the men of this age is already too much ſlighted), having written ſomething formerly, and now being corrected by your admonitions.

May God grant me ſucceſs, and prudence to deſerve it! I have now the utmoſt occaſion for the aſſiſtance principally of the Supreme Being, and alſo of you philoſophers, for whoſe credit I have expoſed myſelf to danger. If God ſhall by my means grant to mankind a bleſſing * beyond my abilities alone to procure, you will have no reaſon to be offended at my diſcourſes. For as I am conſcious of nothing good, this only excepted, that having nothing, I do not think that I abound †, I con-

* This bleſſing was particularly the re-eſtabliſhment of Paganiſm. LA BLETERIE.

† Οτι μηδὲ οιομαι τα μεγιστα εχειν, εχων γε δὴ. As both Julian and his correſpondent were, no doubt, well acquainted with the writings of the Apoſtles, I will hazard a conjecture that this was intended as a ſneer on an expreſſion

continue to act, as you observe, in the same manner; and I intreat you not to form high expectations of me, but to submit every thing to God. So if any faults should be committed, I shall be blameless; but if all things should succeed to my wishes, I shall be grateful and moderate, not arrogating to myself the deeds of others, but ascribing, as is just, every thing to God *, and knowing that my acknowledgements are due to him, let me exhort you to return him yours also.

of St. Paul, in 2 Cor. VI. 10. Ως μηδεν εχοντες, και παντα κατεχοντες, *As having nothing, and yet possessing all things.* The expressions at least are very similar.

* That piety of spirit, that true magnanimity, which Julian here professes, has been nobly exemplified, while I am writing this, by a modern commander, the retriever of the glory of the British flag, whom we find, in the midst of the most brilliant success, "giving God the glory," and not scrupling to declare, that "It has pleased God, "out of his Divine Providence, to grant to his Majesty's "arms a most complete victory," &c. See Sir George Rodney's Letter in the London Gazette of May 18, 1782.

A CONSOLATORY ORATION ON THE DEPARTURE OF * SALLUST †.

A. D. 358. UNLESS, my dear friend, I communicate to you what has occurred to me in private, ſince I heard of your approaching departure, I ſhall

* One MS. adds, τῳ ἀγαθωτατῳ, ("the excellent.")

† This is a farewell encomium on Salluſt, who was going into Illyricum and Thrace, he being one of the few who was dear to Julian, and his confidential friend. He wrote this Oration when he governed the Gauls with the title of Cæſar, during the life of Conſtantius. The time when Julian celebrated the departure of Salluſt with this Oration may be aſcertained from a paſſage in the Epiſtle to the Athenians, where he mentions, that Conſtantius removed Salluſt from the Gauls, becauſe he was his friend.

PETAU.

This Oration exhibits to us a picture of an excellent temper, on the eminence to which Julian was now exalted, in not being able to be ſeparated from the deareſt and moſt uſeful guide and companion of his life without the utmoſt regret. SPANHEIM.

Salluſt was an officer of great merit, by birth a Gaul. What employment Conſtantius had given him in the Gauls is not known, but it was certainly one that was conſiderable. He was a Pagan, a man of learning, of great ability in buſineſs, and of diſtinguiſhed probity; ſufficient recommendations to the friendſhip of Julian. Salluſt had the rare talent of giving advice without petulance, and without that air of confidence, which too often renders the truth, and always thoſe who ſpeak it, diſguſting. The freedom with which he reproved the prince was ſoftened by

ſhall think myſelf deprived of ſome conſolation;

or

by reſpect, cordiality, and tenderneſs. Julian revered him as a father, and all the good that Julian did was attributed to Salluſt, without exciting any jealouſy in Julian. The intrigues of Florentius and ſome other officers induced the Emperor to recall Salluſt, on a pretext that was honourable to him; but, in reality, to mortify Julian, who was left at the diſcretion of perſons unworthy of their poſts, and his profeſſed enemies. He was extremely concerned at the loſs of Salluſt. To aſſwage his grief, he addreſſed this diſcourſe to him, in which he takes leave of him in an affecting manner, with teſtimonies of the ſincereſt friendſhip and eſteem. Afterwards, when he was Emperor, he made him Præfect of the Gauls. LA BLETERIE.

On his entering the Perſian territories [April 13, 363], Julian received a letter from his old friend Salluſt [then in Gaul], conjuring him not to take the field till he had appeaſed the Gods, who ſeemed, by various prodigies, to declare againſt the Perſian war. But the die was caſt. *Ibid.*

See alſo Epiſtle XVII, and what M. de la Bleterie ſays farther of this diſcourſe in the Preface.

The meaſures of policy, and the operations of war, muſt ſubmit to the various operations of circumſtance and character, and the unpractiſed ſtudent will often be perplexed in the application of the moſt perfect theory. But in the acquiſition of this important ſcience Julian was aſſiſted by the active vigour of his own genius, as well as by the wiſdom and experience of Salluſt, an officer of rank, who ſoon conceived a ſincere attachment for a prince ſo worthy of his friendſhip; and whoſe incorruptible integrity was adorned by the talent of inſinuating the harſheſt truths, without wounding the delicacy of a royal ear. GIBBON.

This excellent miniſter was ſpeedily recalled by the jealouſy of the Emperor; and we may ſtill read a ſenſible but pedantic diſcourſe, in which Julian deplores the loſs of ſo valuable a friend, to whom he acknowledges himſelf indebted for his reputation. *Ibid.*

This Salluſt muſt be carefully diſtinguiſhed from the venerable Præfect of the Eaſt, who had the ſingular honour of twice refuſing the empire, once after the death

or rather I shall imagine that my dignity * affords me no advantage unshared by you. For having participated with each other in much joy, and in much grief, both in words and deeds, in public and in private, at home and in the field, for the present evils, be they what they may, we must both have recourse to the same remedy. But who will supply us with a lyre like that of Orpheus, or with songs like those of the Sirens, or with the drug Nepenthes †? Whether this was a fiction derived

of Julian, and again on the death of Jovian. Julian honoured the consulship with the name of the Præfect of Gaul (A. D. 363.) *Ibid.*

The fourth Oration of Julian, *In Solem Regem*, composed in three nights, is addressed to the same Sallust, and towards the conclusion he mentions a former work (now lost) "on the Κρονια," or *Saturnalia*, which was also inscribed to him, and of which one paragraph (quoted in the first note on the Cæsars, p. 145.), is preserved by Suidas.

* Of Cæsar, which Constantius had conferred on him at Milan, Nov. 6, 355. See the Epistle to the Athenians, p. 77.

† Odyss. IV. 221. On the arrival of Telemachus at the court of Menelaus at Sparta,

——— With genial joy to warm the soul,
Bright Helen mix'd a mirth-inspiring bowl;
Temper'd with drugs of sovereign use t' assuage
The boiling bosom of tumultuous rage,
To clear the clouded front of wrinkled care,
And dry the fearful sluices of despair.

. . . . . .

These drugs, so friendly to the joys of life,
Bright Helen learn'd from Thone's imperial wife,
Who sway'd the sceptre, where prolific Nile
With various simples cloaths the fruitful soil, &c.

FENTON.

Julian

derived from Ægyptian lore, or was invented by the poet himself, and interwoven in his sequel of the Trojan calamities, as if Helen had learned it in Ægypt, it expresses what ought to be the language of those who wish to dispel, not the miseries which the Greeks and Trojans mutually inflicted, but mental sufferings, and to restore chearfulness and tranquillity. For pleasure and pain seem to flow from the same source, and in their turns succeed each other. And those events which occasion great labour and trouble, in the opinion of the wise, give a mind, that is rightly disposed, not more pain than pleasure. Thus from the bittereſt herb that grows on Hymettus * the bee extracts sweet juice, and works it into honey. Such bodies, as are healthy and robust, are nourished by any kind of food, and that which is generally deemed unwholesome, far from impairing, increases their strength. But on those, whose constitutions, by nature, education, or study, are weak, and through their whole life, valetudinary, the slighteſt attacks make violent impressions. So, in regard to the mind, those who are thus [susceptible, must be

Julian refers to the same passage in his xxxvIIth Epistle. And Milton thus alludes to it, in his Mask of Comus:

Not that Nepenthes which the wife of Thone,
In Ægypt, gave to Jove-born Helena,
Is of such power to stir up joy as this,
To life so friendly, or so cool to thirst.

* A mountain of Attica, famous for excellent honey.
Ubi non Hymetto mella decedunt. HOR.

contented *] with being moderately well, and though they are not endued with the ſtrength of Antiſthenes † or Socrates, or the fortitude of Calliſthenes ‡, or the temperance of Polemo ||, yet if they can be ſerene in ſuch trials, perhaps in greater difficulties they may be chearful.

As to myſelf, ſenſible how much I ſuffer and ſhall ſuffer from your journey, my concern was equal to that which I felt on firſt leaving my preceptor §. For I immediately recollected the labours which we have ſhared, our pure and unfeigned affection, our innocent and unreſerved

* Imperfect. The tranſlator has ſupplied the chaſm by conjecture.

† A philoſopher and teacher of rhetoric at Rhodes, who, on hearing Socrates, bade his ſcholars ſeek a new maſter, for he had found one. He was the founder of the Cynic ſect, and the maſter of Diogenes.

‡ A philoſopher and diſciple of Ariſtotle, who frequented the court of Alexander the Great. On his oppoſing that prince being worſhipped in the Perſian manner, he was accuſed of a pretended conſpiracy, and cruelly expoſed to lions.

|| Polemo was a profligate young rake of Athens, and even diſtinguiſhed by the diſſoluteneſs of his manners. One day, after a riotous entertainment, he came reeling, with a chaplet on his head, into the ſchool of Xenocrates. The audience were greatly offended at his ſcandalous appearance; but the philoſopher went on, without any emotion, in a diſcourſe on temperance and ſobriety. Polemo was ſo ſtruck by his arguments, that he ſoon threw away his chaplet; and from that time became a diſciple of Xenocrates; and profited ſo well by his inſtructions, that he afterwards ſucceeded him in the Socratic ſchool.

Mrs. CARTER.

§ The eunuch Mardonius. See the Miſopogon.

con-

converſation, our concurrence in all things laudable, the alacrity and reſolution with which we uniformly oppoſed the wicked, and the firmneſs with which we conſtantly maintained our purpoſe, having one and the ſame mind, ſimilar manners, and being united by the ſtricteſt friendſhip. Beſides, I recollected that expreſſion,

—— On the field Ulyſſes ſtands alone *.

For I now much reſemble him, ſince God has removed you, like Hector †, far from the darts which have been launched at you by ſycophants; or rather at me, endeavouring to wound me through you; as thinking no method ſo certain as that of depriving me, if poſſible, of the ſociety of a faithful friend, an alert defender, and a ſharer, with the utmoſt alacrity, in all my dangers. You, I think, at being denied a participation in my cares and labours, are no leſs affected than I am; but on

* Il. xi. 401. Οιωθη δ' Οδυσσευς. Pope, 509. It has before been remarked, (p. 3. note.) that it was fashionable for the Greeks in general, and Julian, their admirer and imitator, in particular, to quote Homer at random on every occaſion. The above expreſſion is applied by the poet to Ulyſſes, when Diomed had been wounded by Paris, and obliged to quit the field.

† Il. xi. 164. This paſſage is again quoted and applied, with more propriety, by Julian to himſelf in his Allegorical Fable. That Hector was removed from the battle was a deſirable circumſtance to Ulyſſes; not ſo the deſertion of his friend Diomed. To this therefore the removal of Salluſt from Julian ſeems more applicable.

my account, and for my ſafety, are rather more anxious than myſelf. For as I never preferred my own intereſt to yours, I have always experienced from you the ſame attention. I am therefore juſtly and deeply concerned, that to you, who, with reſpect to others, can ſay,

"I heed them not, for my affairs are proſperous,"

I alone ſhould occaſion grief and anxiety. But in this, it ſeems, we are equal ſufferers; you, however, lamenting only on my account, but I conſtantly regretting the loſs of your ſociety, and recollecting the friendſhip which we mutually pledged to each other, cemented firſt and principally by virtue, and afterwards by the obligations, not from you to me, but thoſe which were largely conferred on me by you. This friendſhip we bound not by oaths, or other ſuch ties, like Theſeus and Pirithous *, but by a perpetual concurrence in opinion, in being ſo far from uniting to injure any one, as never to converſe on the ſubject. But if any thing happened advantageous to an individual, or the common good was in view, this engaged our private diſcourſe.

That I have abundant cauſe to lament, on being ſeparated, for ever ſo ſhort a time, not only from a friend, but, God knows, a faithful aſſiſtant,

* The ſworn friendſhip of theſe two heroes was proverbial. See the Life of Theſeus in Plutarch.

Socrates,

Socrates, I doubt not, the great herald and teacher of virtue, would allow; as far as his ſentiments may be conjectured from Plato. For theſe are his words: "Rightly to govern a ſtate, I deem a moſt "difficult taſk; for it cannot be governed without "faithful friends and counſellors; and ſuch can-"not eaſily be found." And if Plato thought this more arduous than digging through Athos, what can we expect, who in wiſdom and knowledge are more unequal to him than he was to God? But I not only regret the mutual aſſiſtance which we gave to each other, in civil adminiſtration, and which enabled us more eaſily to ſupport whatever happened unexpectedly either by accident, or by the machinations of our enemies; but the approaching loſs of my chief ſolace and delight rends and afflicts my heart. For what friend equally benevolent have I now remaining? Whoſe ſincere and innocent confidence ſhall I be able now to endure? Who will adviſe me prudently, reprove me mildly, confirm me in virtue without pride and arrogance, and uſe freedom of ſpeech without aſperity; like thoſe, who from medicines extract the nauſeous, and leave the uſeful? Theſe advantages * I have derived from your friendſhip. Deſtitute of

* In the original, Αλλα τουτο μεν εκ της σης φιλιας το ονειδος εκαρπωσαμην; literally, "But I have reaped this *diſgrace* from "your friendſhip." Perhaps we ſhould read το ονειον (*utile*). The Latin tranſlator renders it by *famam hanc* (which may be taken either in a good or bad ſenſe); and Mr. Gibbon (ſee his ſecond note, p. 31.) by "reputation."

that, how shall I compose numerous orations? Who, when, in despair, I am hazarding my life, from regret of you, of your counsels and benevolence, will persuade me to be resigned, and to submit with fortitude to whatever God decrees? For this, in concurrence with him, the great Emperor * seems to have determined. By what method, by what charms, can the mind be enabled to support such anxiety and distress with moderation? Shall we imitate the discourses of Zamolxis †, and mutter his incantations, which, when Socrates had introduced them at Athens, he obliged beautiful Charmides ‡ to sing, before he would cure him of his head-ach? Or if these, as being too vast, and intended for greater trials, like large machines in a small theatre, are unmanageable, yet, from former occurrences, collecting, as it were, from a variegated meadow, some choice and beautiful flowers, shall we solace our minds with narrations, interspersing with them some strictures from philosophy? As draughts that are too luscious are ren-

* Constantius.

† A Gete, and servant of Pythagoras, who, at his return, civilised his countrymen, and by them was reputed a God.

‡ An Athenian, the son of Glaucon, famous for his beauty. See the Dialogue of Plato so named, in which Charmides is an interlocutor. "If," says Socrates, "what "Critics here say be true, if you are extremely temperate, you have no more occasion for Zamolxis, or the "incantations of Aberis, the Hyperborean; that alone will "be a sufficient remedy for your head." Charmides is also mentioned by Plato in his Theages, Protagoras, and Banquet.

dered

dered more palatable by the infusion of certain drugs, so when such narrations are seasoned with some apt maxims of philosophy, those parts of ancient history which seem tedious are stripped of their redundant loquacity.

What first? What next? What last shall I relate *?

Was not Scipio, loving Lælius, and being equally loved by him, so closely connected with him, that he undertook nothing without having previously consulted and advised with him? which occasioned the envious traducers of his actions to say, that Lælius was the author of them, and Africanus only the performer. The same report prevails in regard to us, and I hear it, I confess, with great satisfaction. For to adopt the good advice of another seemed to Zeno† a proof of greater virtue than

* Odyss. IX. 14.

† Zeno, the founder of the Stoic sect, was born at Citium, a sea-port town in the island of Cyprus. He was originally a merchant, and very rich. On a voyage from Tyre, where he had been trading in purple, he was shipwrecked near the Piræum. During his stay at Athens, he happened to meet, in a bookseller's shop, with the second book of Xenophon's *Memorabilia*; with which he was extremely delighted; and asked the bookseller where such kind of persons, as the author mentioned, were to be found. The bookseller answered, pointing to Crates, the Cynic, who was luckily passing by, "Follow him;" which Zeno did, and became his disciple. But his disposition was too modest to approve of the Cynic indecency; and forsaking Crates, he applied himself to the Academics, whom he attended for ten years, and then formed a school of his own. There was a constant severity, or perhaps austerity, in his manners, his dress, and his discourse; except at an

than originally to conceive what is just and right thus altering a line of Hesiod:

That man is best who follows good advice *, from

——— who counsels wisely for himself.

Yet I do not approve the alteration, as I think the saying of Hesiod much more true. But better than either is that of Pythagoras, from whom that proverb originated, "With friends all things are "common." This indeed does not refer to money only, but includes a communion of minds and understandings. So that what you suggest is no less the property of him who adopts it; and in such parts of yours as I performed, you are justly entitled to a share. But let those actions be ascribed to whom they will, they belong to another; and

entertainment, when he used to appear with chearfulness and ease. His morals were irreproachable; and he was presented by the Athenians with a golden crown, because his life was a public example of virtue, by its conformity with his words and doctrines. He lived ninety-eight years, and then strangled himself, because, in going out of his school, he happened to fall down, and break his finger.

DIOGENES LAERTIUS.

* Ουτος μεν παναριστος, ος ευ ειποντι πιθηται.

In the Works and Days of Hesiod, ver. 291. we read,

Ουτος μεν παναριστος, ος αυτω παντα νοησει.

(In Julian, παιθ' ἑαυτω) to which latter hemistich, it seems, Zeno substituted part of ver. 293, viz.

Εσθλος δ' αυ κακεινος, ος ευ, κ. τ. λ.

He too is good, *who follows good advice.*

Hesiod and Livy thought, that he who counselled wisely for himself, was the first of men, and that he who followed the good advice of others was the second. But Zeno preferred the latter.

of their ſuggeſtions the invidious can make no advantage.

I now return to Africanus and Lælius. After Carthage * was deſtroyed, and all Libya was ſubjected to Rome, Africanus diſpatched Lælius with the intelligence of his ſucceſs. Scipio was concerned at being thus ſeparated from his friend; yet he did not think his grief inconſolable. Lælius too, it is probable, was afflicted at departing alone; yet this calamity did not ſeem to him inſupportable. Cato alſo took a voyage, leaving his intimate friends at home. Pythagoras too travelled into Ægypt, and ſo did Plato and Democritus, without any companion, leaving behind them many whom they highly eſteemed. Pericles made war againſt Samos †, unaccompanied by Anaxagoras, and conquered Eubœa ‡; by his counſels indeed, for he was his

* By mentioning Libya afterwards, Julian ſeems to mean Old Carthage; but C. Lælius, as we learn from Livy (xxvii. 7.), was diſpatched to Rome by Scipio Africanus the elder, with the account of "the conqueſt," not deſtruction, "of New Carthage, the capital of Spain, in one "day." He was indeed diſpatched, many years after, by the younger Scipio, from Africa, with Syphax and other priſoners, and with the intelligence of the victory of Zama: but it does not appear that he was ſent with the account of the deſtruction of Old Carthage. Julian truſted much to his memory, which ſometimes deceived him.

† Making war with the Samians, Pericles gained a naval victory, and at laſt took their city.

‡ Eubœa having rebelled againſt the Athenians, he invaded it with a fleet and army, and reduced it to their obedience. See his Life in Plutarch.

pre-

" As some way-faring man, who wanders o'er
" In thought — *.

" Assisted by this, you may easily discern from " Athens one who is in Ionia; from the Gauls " those who are in Illyricum and Thrace; and " him who is in the Gauls from Thrace or " Illyricum. For, though plants, when removed " from their native soil in an improper season, " cannot be preserved, yet men, when they travel " from place to place, do not, in like manner, " soon decay, or change their disposition, or de- " viate from the right principles which they had " previously imbibed. Therefore if we do not " love with more ardour, we certainly should not " abate in our benevolence. Luxury is attended " by lasciviousness, but poverty by virtuous love. " Thus we shall be happier by the increase of " our mutual affection; and shall see ourselves " fixed, like statues in their niches, in the mind " of each other. Now I shall behold Anaxagoras, " and then Anaxagoras will behold me; for no- " thing prohibits our seeing each other; not the " flesh and nerves, the face and form, or a bodily " representation, (though nothing perhaps will " prevent even these appearing to our minds), but " the virtue, the actions, the discourses, the con- " versations, the meetings that frequently oc- " curred between us; when we not unskilfully

* Il. xv. 80. Pope, 86. Homer here compares the flight of Juno, from Ida to Olympus, to a man travelling in Idea.

" joined

" joined in the praiſe of education, and juſtice,
" and of that underſtanding which directs all
" things human and divine; and alſo on civil
" government, and laws, on virtuous conduct, and
" ingenuous ſtudies, we made ſuch obſervations
" as our memories ſuggeſted. Reflecting on theſe
" things, and ruminating on ſuch repreſentations,
" we ſhall diſregard the deluſions of nightly
" dreams; nor will the ſenſes, affected by a bad
" habit of body, preſent to the mind vain and
" empty viſions. For, inſtead of employing the
" aſſiſtance and miniſtration of the ſenſes, the
" mind will meditate on theſe ſubjects, and thus
" inure itſelf to the contemplation and compre-
" henſion of incorporeal objects. For by the
" mind we aſſociate even with the Almighty, and
" are naturally enabled to behold and inveſtigate
" things that eſcape our ſenſes, that are in place
" far diſtant, and even things that have no place *.
" And ſuch a viſion all whoſe lives have rendered
" them worthy of it, conceive in their minds and
" perfectly enjoy."

* Thus Shakeſpeare:

The poet's eye, in a fine frenzy rolling,
Doth glance from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven,
And, as imagination bodies forth
The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen
Turns them to ſhape, and gives to airy nothing
A local habitation, and a name.

Midſummer Night's Dream, Act V. Sc. I.

Pericles

Pericles, being endued with true magnanimity, and educated free in a free city, might solace himself with such sublime meditations. But I, born "in these degenerate days *," console and beguile my mind, and asswage the bitterness of my sorrow, by arguments more human; thus endeavouring to apply some remedy to the many anxious and distressing ideas which on that subject perpetually assail me; like a charm against the bite of a wild beast, deeply wounding my heart and vitals. Of all my afflictions this is the principal; I am now left alone, deprived of a sincere, social intercourse, and an unreserved communication. For I have none remaining whom I can consult with equal confidence. But cannot I easily converse with myself? Or cannot some other engage my thoughts, and oblige me to regard and attend to subjects not of my own choosing? Is not this similar to writing on water, or boiling a stone, or investigating the traces of the flight of birds? Our conversing on such subjects none can hinder. And perhaps God will suggest something better. For it is impossible that a man who gives himself up to the Almighty should be entirely neglected and deserted by him. But God with his own arm defends him, endues him with strength, inspires him with courage, instills into his mind what he should do, and deters him from what he should forbear. A divine voice

* Οἱοι νυν βροτοι εἰσι. Il. v. 304. An expression often quoted by our author.

accom-

accompanied Socrates *, forbidding him to do

* The notion of Socrates having a ſupernatural attendant, either an evil ſpirit, as ſome of the Fathers imagined, or a good one, as others have conceived, has been lately diſcuſſed, in "an Eſſay on the Dæmon or Divination of "Socrates," by Mr. Nares, who maintains, "that the "divinations of Socrates were perfectly analogous to thoſe "in common uſe at the time in which he lived; but that "he, from a ſcrupulous exactneſs in his expreſſions, (and "probably alſo with a deſire to inculcate, as frequently "as poſſible, the notion of a conſtantly active and ſuper-"intending providence) choſe rather to refer his divi-"nation always to its primary and original cauſe, the "Gods, than to their ſecondary and unconſcious inſtru-"ments, the omens by which it was conveyed. In con-"ſequence of theſe ideas, he appropriated to the ſubject "an expreſſion, which firſt the malice of his enemies, and "ſince the miſtaken zeal of his friends, have wreſted to "his diſadvantage, as if he had pretended to a communi-"cation with ſome attendant Dæmon; than which nothing "could be more remote from his ideas. It appears, in-"deed, that he conceived the particular ſignal, or omen, "by which he was directed, to be ſomething in a manner "appropriated; or at leaſt more accurately obſerved and "attended to by him than by others. But in this there is "nothing repugnant to the common notions of prophetic "warnings in his and every age, nor in the leaſt ſubverſive "of what has been here advanced. From this repreſen-"tation of the matter it will appear, that there is, in "the hiſtory of this extraordinary man, nothing which "can countenance the vague and romantic notion of "attendant tutelar dæmons; nor any thing which can "in the leaſt invalidate our conceptions of his ſtrict in-"tegrity and open diſpoſition: a concluſion, which every "lover of philoſophy will doubtleſs embrace with pleaſure, "if the arguments and authorities which form the foun-"dation of it be deemed of ſufficient ſtrength." The author ſupports this ingenious hypotheſis by paſſages to the ſame purpoſe from Plato, Xenophon, and Plutarch.

If Julian had not been more a Greek than a Roman, he would have mentioned alſo, on this occaſion, Numa and his nymph Egeria.

whatever was improper. And Homer says of Achilles, "His mind was inspired *," intimating, that our thoughts are suggested by God, when the mind, by reflection, converses first with itself, and then privately with God, without interruption; for the mind requires not ears to learn, nor God a voice to teach, what is necessary, but, without sensation, a participation of the Almighty is given to the mind. How, and in what manner, I have not leisure now to examine; but that this is effected there are sure and faithful witnesses, not such as are ignoble, and to be classed with the Megarensians, but those who have had the first reputation in wisdom. Therefore, as we expect that God will be for ever present with us, and that we shall again have a mutual intercourse, the violence of our affliction ought to abate. Even Ulysses, who so much lamented his confinement in an island for seven whole years, though I praise him for his bravery on other occasions, I admire not for his grief on this. For what availed his gazing on the sea, and shedding tears †? Not to be dejected and dispirited by misfortunes, but to act with intrepidity in the midst of danger and destruction, seems indeed more than can be expected from man. But it

* By Juno. Il. I. 55. Thus also Virgil, *Hic mentem Æneæ genitrix pulcherrima misit.* Æn. XII. 554.

† Odyss. v. 82. All on the lonely shore he sat to weep,
And roll'd his eyes around the restless deep;
Tow'rd his lov'd coast he roll'd his eyes in vain,
Till dimm'd with rising grief, they stream'd again.
Pope, 105.

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is unjuſt to praiſe, and not to imitate, the ancients, or to think that God readily aſſiſted them; but will overlook thoſe of this age whom he ſees attached to virtue, ſince on that account he was pleaſed with them. It was not for perſonal beauty; or Nireus * would have been more beloved by him. Nor was it for ſtrength; as the Læſtrygons † and Cyclops ‡ were greatly ſuperior in ſtrength to Ulyſſes. Nor was it for riches; for then Troy would have remained in ſafety. But why ſhould we labour to inveſtigate the reaſon of the poet's ſaying that Ulyſſes was beloved by God §, when we may hear it from himſelf?

Becauſe, in every uſeful art refin'd,
His words were eloquent, and wiſe his mind ‖.

It is plain therefore, that, if we have theſe endowments, the Almighty will not deny us his ſupport, but, according to the oracle given of

* Il. 11. 671. Nireus is here mentioned as the moſt beautiful of the Greeks, Achilles only excepted; but his name never occurs again; for

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It is remarkable, that Nireus is introduced by Euripides [Iphigenia in Aulis] as accompanying Ulyſſes, though their manners were unſuitable, and their dominions [Syma and Ithaca] far diſtant. In the vrth book of Quintus Calaber, Nireus falls by the ſpear of Eurypylus. WODHULL.

† Odyſſ. x. 119, &c.

‡ Ibid. IX. 125, &c.

§ Θεοφιλη Δι φιλος (beloved by Jupiter) in Il. XI. 419, 473.

‖ Odyſſ. XIII. 332. [Minerva] by ſaying to Ulyſſes, that ſhe would never overlook nor deſert him, "Becauſe, &c." ſhews that of all we have, virtue only is eſteemed by God and divine. *Plutarch. de audiendis Poetis.*

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old to the Lacedæmonians, invoked, or not invoked, God will be present with us.

Having thus sought consolation, I now return to that circumstance, which, though at first it seems trivial, is generally thought of no small importance. Alexander is said to have wished for Homer, not as a friend indeed, but as a herald, as he was to Achilles, and Patroclus, and the two Ajaces, and Antilochus. But he, always despising what he had, and coveting what he had not, slighted his contemporaries, and was never satisfied with what was granted him. If he had been indulged with Homer, he would probably have requested the lyre of Apollo, on which he played at the nuptials of Peleus *, thinking it not a fiction of the genius of Homer, but a true fact related in verse, like these.

Aurora now, fair daughter of the dawn,
Sprinkled with rosy light the dewy lawn †.
And, The Sun arose ‡.
And, Crete, a fruitful soil §.

* Il. xxiv. 62. Juno says to the Gods,
To grace those nuptials, from the bright abode,
Yourselves were present; where this minstrel-god
(Well pleas'd to share the feast) amid the choir,
Stood proud to hymn, and tune his youthful lyre. Pope.
This harmonious banquet is also celebrated by Euripides, in one of the choruses of his Iphigenia in Aulis. Apollo is there introduced foretelling the glory of Achilles.

† Il. viii. 1. Pope.

‡ Odyss. iii. 1.

§ Ibid. xix. 172. Fenton.

And

And other similar passages of the poets, which are plain and obvious, as some of the objects still remain, and some of the facts are still transacted.

But whether the excellence of his virtue, and a wisdom, by no means inferior to his great superfluity of worldly happiness, inflamed his mind with such ambition, that he coveted more than any one else; or whether the excess of his valour and intrepidity tended to arrogance, and bordered on ostentation; must be left to the discussion of those who would compose his panegyric or satire; if any share of the latter can be thought his due. I, on the contrary, always satisfied with what is present, and not in the least desirous of what is absent, contentedly acquiesce in having my merits proclaimed by a herald who has been a spectator and a fellow-combatant with me in all *, but whose judgement partiality never biasses, nor prejudice perverts. Sufficient is it for me to profess my friendship; in other respects I shall be more silent than those who are initiated by Pythagoras †.

But here I must advert to the general report, namely, that you are going not only among the Illyrians, but also to the Thracians, and those

* Sallust himself, no doubt, on whose representation of his conduct Julian might indeed safely rely.

† The scholars of this philosopher in their probation were enjoined silence, and were only to hear; which time was called ἀκουσία. *Gell.* 1. 9. See the Epistle to Themistius, p. 21. note *.

Greeks who dwell near that ſea *. This, being the place of my birth and education, has inſpired me with a great regard for thoſe people, and their country, and cities; and an equal regard perhaps they retain for me. To them, I am confident, your arrival will be moſt acceptable, and that they will think it a happy exchange, as you have left me here. By ſaying this, I mean not to inſinuate that I wiſh it; on the contrary, if you could return hither immediately, by the ſame road, I ſhould be much more gratified. But as it muſt happen, I am conſidering how to ſupport it with firmneſs and equanimity, while I congratulate them on ſeeing you juſt come from us. On your account, I reconcile myſelf to the Gauls; deeming you worthy of being ranked among the firſt of the Greeks, in juſtice and other virtues; as being alſo an adept in oratory, and far from a novice in philoſophy, in which the Greeks alone are perfect; inveſtigating truth, as its nature requires, by reaſon, and not ſuffering us to be deluded by idle inventions, and incredible fables, like many of the Barbarians.

And now (to diſmiſs you with auſpicious omens) where-ever you go, may the benevolent God be your guide, and Jupiter the friendly and hoſpitable receive you, conducting you ſafely by land, and, if you embark, ſmoothing the waves! May you be loved and honoured by all men; ſo that they may rejoice at your arrival, and lament at your

* The Propontis, which laves Conſtantinople, where Julian was born. It divides the Helleſpont and the Thracian Boſphorus.

departure! Still retaining your affection for us, may you never want the ſociety of a friend equally faithful! May God alſo conciliate to you the favour of the Emperor; may he regulate every other circumſtance to your complete ſatisfaction; and grant you a ſafe and ſpeedy return to your own country and to us! In theſe prayers for you I unite with the good and virtuous. Let me add,

With health, with joy, to his lov'd native ſhore
May the kind Gods my honour'd friend reſtore *!

* Ουλε τε, και μεγα χαιρε· θεοι δε τοι ολβια δοιεν,
Νοστησαι οικον δε φιλην ες πατριδα γαιαν.

The firſt line is taken from ver. 401, and the ſecond is an alteration of Νοστησαντα inver. 404, of Odyſſ. XXIV. with the addition of moſt part of ver. 562 of Odyſſ. X.

Beſides the warmth of affection that breathes through this whole compoſition, ſeveral parts of it, eſpecially the concluſion, in the original, are poetical without being turgid.

JULIAN CÆSAR TO THE EMPEROR CONSTANTIUS *.

A. D. 360. EVER retaining one and the same opinion, I have adhered to what I faithfully purposed, not less from principle than by the covenant of treaties, as has evidently appeared in various instances. As soon as I was created Cæsar, you exposed me to all the tumults and horrors of battle; yet, contented with a delegated authority, like a faithful apparitor, I filled your ears with frequent accounts of successes answerable to your wishes; never dwelling on my own dangers, though by continual proofs it may appear, the Germans being every where scattered and disordered, that I was always the first in labours, but the last in refreshment.

* The Gallic legions being ordered by Constantius to march into the East, a tumult arose (as Julian himself relates more particularly in the succeeding epistle to the Athenians); and from the subordinate dignity of Cæsar he was exalted by the army to the supreme rank of Augustus. This epistle, written soon after that event, is preserved by Ammianus.

He composed, in his own name, and in that of the army, a specious and moderate epistle, which was delivered to Pentadius, his master of the offices, and to his chamberlain Eutherius; two ambassadors, whom he appointed to receive the answer, and observe the dispositions, of Constantius.

GIBBON.

But,

But, with your leave, I will inform you whether any innovations have now been made, as you imagine. The soldiers, wasting their lives in many and severe wars, without advantage, have formerly held consultations, raging and impatient of a ruler in the second place, being sensible that no recompence can be made them by the Cæsar for their daily fatigues and frequent victories; their resentment has been appeased by no increase of honours, not even by a year's pay now due, to which this also has been unexpectedly added; their being ordered to the most distant parts of the Eastern world, men accustomed to frozen climates were to be separated from their wives and children, and were dragged forth indigent and naked. Being therefore more bitterly enraged than usual, assembling in the night, they besieged the palace, exclaiming JULIAN AUGUSTUS with loud and repeated cries. I trembled, I confess, and withdrew; and while I could, sought safety by silence * and retirement. But no respite being allowed, guarded, as I may say, by the free fortress of my breast, I went forth and presented myself to them, thinking that my authority or mild words might allay the disturbance. Their fury was wonderful, and it went so far, that, on my endeavouring by intreaties to conquer their obstinacy, rushing close up to me, they threatened instant death. At length subdued, and conjec-

* In the original, *simulatione*. I prefer the correction of Gelenius, *mussatione*.

turing *, that, when I was killed, another perhaps would be declared prince, I assented, thus hoping to appease the tumult.

This is the substance of what has happened, which I request you to accept with complacence. And think not that any thing is misrepresented, or credit the evil reports of the malicious, who are accustomed to promote the revolts of princes for their own advantage; but banishing flattery, the nurse of vice, cultivate the most excellent of all virtues, justice; and receive with good faith the equitable terms which I offer, considering them as beneficial both to the Roman state and to us, who are allied by consanguinity, and by the eminence of superior rank. These requests, (excuse me) as they are founded in reason, I am less anxious for your granting than for your approving and thinking them just and proper. I am ready also with chearfulness to obey your commands. What may be necessary I will reduce into a short compass.

I will furnish Spanish horses † for your chariots, and some Letian ‡ youths, sprung from Barbarians on

* In the original, *Mecúmque ipse conteſtans*. In the margin of the Royal MS. *conjectans* is written in the same hand. VALOIS.

The translator has adopted the latter.

† Zonaras says the same thing. And he adds, that Julian inscribed his letter with the name of Cæsar, not Augustus, lest Constantius, offended at it, should immediately disdain it: which Julian also confirms in his Epistle to the Athenians. *Ibid.*

‡ The Leti, or Læti, were some half-barbarians, who dwelt in the Gauls; or (as our Ammianus subjoins) *cis Rhenum edita barbarorum progenies*. *Ibid.*

this ſide the Rhine, or, at leaſt, from vaſſals who have revolted to us, to be incorporated with your provincials and targeteers. And theſe, as long as I live, I promiſe to ſupply, not only with gratitude but delight. Prætorian præfects, of diſtinguiſhed equity and merit, ſhall be given us by your clemency *. As for the other uſual magiſtrates, and the directors of the war, it is proper that they ſhould be left to my nomination, and alſo the guards. For, when they can previouſly be learned, it is abſurd for the manners and tempers of thoſe who are ſtationed by the Emperor's ſide to be unknown to him. The following rule, without the leaſt heſitation, I would eſtabliſh: Gallic recruits, juſt enliſted, ſhould not be ſent, either voluntarily, or by force, to foreign and far diſtant countries, and oppreſſed with daily fatigues or vexatious accidents, leſt the youth ſhould be totally exhauſted, being afflicted with the recollection of paſt, and ſinking under impending, dangers. Nor can it be proper to oppoſe the Parthians with auxiliaries drawn from hence, ſince the barbaric fury is not yet quelled, and (if you will permit me to ſpeak the truth) theſe provinces, harraſſed by continual misfortunes, require external and powerful aſſiſtance. In giving this advice I ſtudy, I am convinced, the public good, requeſting and intreating; for I know, not to arrogate more than my ſtation warrants, what embarraſſed and deſperate

* A term of reſpect, like "majeſty," &c.

affairs have been retrieved by the agreement of princes mutually complying with each other; and the example of our anceſtors will ſhew, that rulers, thinking in this and the like manner, have, as it were, diſcovered the method of living happily, and of endearing their memory to the lateſt times *.

* In this negociation Julian claimed no more than he already poſſeſſed. The delegated authority which he had long exerciſed over the provinces of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, was ſtill obeyed under a name more independent and auguſt. The ſoldiers and the people rejoiced in a revolution, which was not ſtained with blood. Florentius was a fugitive; Lupicinus a priſoner. The perſons who were diſaffected to the new government were diſarmed and ſecured; and the vacant offices were diſtributed according to the recommendation of merit, by a prince who deſpiſed the intrigues of the palace, and the clamours of the ſoldiers. GIBBON.

"To this oſtenſible epiſtle he added," ſays Ammianus, "private letters, *objurgatorias et mordaces*," which the hiſtorian had not ſeen, and would not have publiſhed. Perhaps they never exiſted. *Ibid.*

Theſe "ſtinging" letters, Zonaras ſays, were not ſent by Julian at that time, but afterwards, when Leonas, who had been ambaſſador to Julian, returned unſucceſsful to Conſtantius. "Leonas therefore, deſpairing of being able to "execute any part of his commiſſion, returned with the "letters of Julian, in which he impudently upbraided the "Emperor, as having been very criminal towards his re"lations, and threatened that he would revenge their in"juries." VALOIS.

The ambaſſadors found Conſtantius at Cæſarea in Cappadocia. On reading the letters with which they were charged, this prince flew into a dreadful paſſion; and viewing them with a look that ſeemed to threaten their lives, he commanded them to withdraw, without condeſcending to give them any further audience, or to aſk them any queſtions. He was very near quitting the Perſian war to march directly againſt Julian. However, he only diſpatched a Quæſtor, named Leonas, to him, with a menacing letter, and recalled his principal officers. LA BLETERIE.

THE

The Emperor Julian to the Senate and People of Athens *.

THOUGH many actions have been performed by your anceſtors, for which you, as well as they, are juſtly renowned, and though many trophies have been erected by all Greece in general, and A. D. 361.

* Julian wrote this epiſtle ſoon after his being proclaimed Emperor in the Gauls; and while he was marching with his army againſt Conſtantius. For Libanius affirms, that he then wrote letters to ſeveral cities of Greece, in order to exculpate his aſſuming the empire to other nations. "He was ſo much more ſolicitous," ſays that orator, in his Panegyric on the conſulſhip of Julian, "to "exculpate himſelf than to gain a victory, that, while he "was expoſed to the greateſt dangers, he apologiſed for him-"ſelf by the Greeks, to all mankind, writing epiſtles to "them, according to the ſeveral diſpoſitions of each city, "ſome longer, and ſome ſhorter, as might ſuit thoſe to "whom they were addreſſed."

This epiſtle therefore explains the motives of his conduct, and fully deſcribes the patience with which he had hitherto borne the repeated injuries and provocations of Conſtantius, and the great reluctance with which, by the concurrence of the army, he was exalted to the empire. Indeed, of all the remains of that apoſtate, none ſeems to me more worthy of publication and the peruſal of the learned, eſpecially of thoſe who ſtudy hiſtory. For it accurately relates that whole tranſaction, throws light on many parts of this ſubject tranſmitted to us by Ammianus and others, and alſo contains ſeveral hiſtorical facts and circumſtances not to be found elſewhere. The great regard which Julian had for Athens and the Athenians, and the reaſons

and by your city in particular, when she contended singly either with the neighbouring states, or with the Barbarians, none of her deeds are so distinguished, no acts of her heroism so illustrious, as not to be rivalled by the other cities. In some, they have co-operated with you; others they have performed unaided and alone. But lest, by mentioning particulars, I should seem to draw an odious comparison, or to give an invidious preference, in order to serve my cause, as is usual with orators, who by faintly praising, really de-

reasons why he resorted thither, Gregory of Nazianzus declares in his second oration στηλιτ. PETAU.

After having made himself master of the pass of the Succi, in his march against Constantius, while Julian resided at Naissus in Illyricum, waiting for his troops, and making new levies, he wrote to several cities of Greece, among others to Athens, Lacedæmon, and Corinth, not only to engage them in his interest, but also to justify his proceedings.

In particular, he made it a point of honour and religion to take for judges the Athenians, so celebrated in antiquity for their love of justice, by carrying his cause to the tribunal of Areopagus, where the Gods had formerly appeared. Of all his manifestoes we have only that which was addressed to them. It is an eloquent and perfectly well-written piece. LA BLETERIE.

The most authentic account of the education and adventures of Julian is contained in this epistle, or manifesto. It deserves the praises of the Abbé de la Bleterie, and is one of the best manifestoes to be found in any language. GIBBON.

His epistle to the Senate and people of Athens, seems to have been dictated by an elegant enthusiasm, which prompted him to submit his actions and motives to the degenerate Athenians of his own times, with the same humble deference, as if he had been pleading, in the days of Aristides, before the tribunal of the Areopagus. *Ibid.*

preciate

preciate and decry the merit of their opponents, this only I will say of you, to which of all that tradition has transmitted the other Greeks can produce nothing parallel. You obtained the dominion over the Lacedæmonians, not by the force of your arms, but by the fame of your justice. Aristides * the Just was formed by your laws. And these proofs of your virtue, splendid as they are, you have confirmed by still more splendid facts. For in mere matters of opinion we are liable to mistake, nor is it unusual to find, among many wicked men, one who is virtuous. Is not Deioces † celebrated among the Medes, Abaris ‡ among the Hyperboreans, and Anacharsis § among the Scythians; of whom it was remarkable, that, though they lived in nations notoriously unjust, they nevertheless cultivated justice? The two last sincerely; the first was prompted by interest to dis-

* See his Life in Cornelius Nepos.

† He determined with so much prudence the differences of the Medes, that he deserved to be chosen their king. He built, according to Herodotus, the city of Ecbatana, and reigned forty years, from the year of the world 3358 to 3398. MORERI.

‡ A Scythian, who wrote Apollo's Northern Journey in verse, oracles, predictions, &c. Jamblichus says, he was a scholar of Pythagoras, which does not agree with what the ancients affirm of Abaris being prior even to Solon. *Ibid.*

§ Another Scythian, contemporary with Solon, of whom he learned philosophy at Athens.

He was the only philosopher of his nation, whence the proverb, *Anacharsis inter Scythas.* At length he was killed by his brother the king of Scythia, for endeavouring to introduce the Athenian laws. See Diogenes Laërtius, in his life, *l.* 1.

semble

ſemble it. But it is difficult to produce a whole city and nation, who practiſe juſtice, both in word and deed, except yourſelves. Of many inſtances that have occurred among you it may be ſufficient to mention one. When Themiſtocles *, after the Perſian war, had formed a plan of privately ſetting fire to the naval arſenals of the Greeks, and dared not publickly to propoſe it, but ſaid, he would communicate the ſecret to any one whom the people by their ſuffrages would elect, they named Ariſtides. He, on hearing the propoſal, concealed the particulars, and only informed the people, that "nothing could be more advantageous, but at the ſame time more unjuſt, than the advice of Themiſtocles." Upon which, the city immediately diſclaimed and declined it; a ſignal inſtance of magnanimity, and highly becoming a people educated under the eye of the wiſeſt Goddeſs!

If theſe things happened among you in ancient times, and a ſmall ſpark, as it were, of the virtue of your anceſtors has ever ſince been preſerved, you ought, when you hear of any great action, to conſider, not the ſurpriſing ſingularity of it, like that of a man walking with as much ſtrength and agility as if he had wings, but whether its motives were juſt and right. And if ſo, both in public and private it will receive your deſerved applauſe; if not, it will with reaſon be diſregarded and condemned. Nothing is ſo nearly allied to wiſdom as

* See his Life in Plutarch.

juſtice. Thoſe therefore who deſpiſe it you ſhould baniſh as profaners of your Goddeſs. Though you are not ſtrangers to my affairs, this is the occaſion of my preſent addreſs. If any thing ſhould chance to have eſcaped your knowledge (and ſome particulars probably may, even of thoſe in which you all are intereſted), it may thus be communicated to you, and by you to the other Greeks. And let me not be charged with trifling, if I endeavour to compriſe in my diſcourſe thoſe ſcenes which have lately been preſented to the eyes of all men, as well as former tranſactions, as I wiſh to have every thing that relates to me generally known. I will begin with my anceſtors.

That the family of my father, and that of Conſtantius, had the ſame origin, you need not be informed. Our fathers were brothers, having the ſame father. How that moſt humane Emperor acted afterwards towards me, who was ſo nearly related to him, and how he unjuſtly put to death ſix of his own and my couſins, as well as my father, his own uncle, together with another uncle of us both, and alſo my elder brother *; and after having

* He ſays, that "ſix couſins and two uncles" were ſlain by Conſtantius. The latter, I find in the hiſtory of thoſe times, were [Julius] Conſtantius, the father of Julian, and Dalmatius, both ſons of [Conſtantius] Chlorus, by Theodora, the daughter-in-law of Maximian-Herculius, and brothers of Conſtantine. [See the "Pedigree of Julian."] But the hiſtorians mention only "three" couſin-germans, viz. Dalmatianus and Hannibalianus, the ſons of Dalmatius, and Nepotianus, the ſon of Eutropia, the ſiſter of Conſtantine. The others were killed, ſoon after the death of

ing intended to deſtroy me * and another brother †, changed our ſentence into baniſhment, from which he afterwards releaſed me, but deprived him, juſt before he was killed, of the name of Cæſar; all theſe dreadful tragical events why ſhould I relate? eſpecially, as he is ſaid to have repented, and to have been much afflicted, attributing to them his want of children, and alſo his ill ſucceſs in the

of Conſtantine, by a conſpiracy of the ſoldiers. Nepotianus was ſlain after the death of Conſtans, not, however, by Conſtantius, but by the tyrant Magnentius. So ſay Socrates, Zoſimus, Eutropius, and Victor. I read therefore of but "two" couſins ſlain by Conſtantius. The reſt let the diligent and learned inveſtigate. PETAU.

* We learn, from this paſſage, what is mentioned, as I recollect, by no other writer, that Julian had, beſides Gallus Cæſar, another, and that an elder brother, whom he here plainly diſtinguiſhes from Gallus, and mentions to have been killed, before Gallus was Cæſar, by Conſtantius. Who he was, or what was his name, I profeſs myſelf to be ignorant. But ſo was Socrates. *Ibid.*

Julian here charges his couſin Conſtantius with the whole guilt of a maſſacre, from which he himſelf ſo narrowly eſcaped. His aſſertion is confirmed by Athanaſius, who, for reaſons of a very different nature, was not leſs an enemy to Conſtantius. (tom. 1. p. 856.) Zoſimus joins in the ſame accuſation. But the three abbreviators, Eutropius and the Victors, uſe very qualifying expreſſions, "*finente* "*potius quam jubente*;" "*incertum quo ſuaſore*," "*vi militum.*" GIBBON.

† Socrates (III. 1.) ſays, that "Gallus was ſuffered to "live, becauſe, on account of his weak conſtitution, it was "thought that he could not live long; and Julian, becauſe "he was only eight years old." But in this, Socrates is not quite accurate. For Julian was not "eight," but only "five" years old: as he died in the 31ſt year of his age, in that of our Lord 363. But Conſtantine died in 337. PETAU.

Perſian

Persian war *. Such rumours, at least, were circulated among the courtiers, in the hearing of me and my late brother Cæsar Gallus, for so he was then styled. Having put him also to death, in defiance of all laws, he neither suffered him to be entombed with his ancestors, nor his memory to be honoured. But, as I said before, we were informed and convinced, that some of these crimes originated from misapprehension and misinformation, and others from the overbearing insolence and compulsion of a turbulent and mutinous army. Such reports often reached us in our confinement in a certain Cappadocian farm †, to which no one was allowed access: there we were both placed; my brother, recalled from exile; and I, almost a child, removed from school. Why should I mention those six years ‡, in which we were educated in a kind of foreign country, and as strictly guarded as if we had been in Persia, no stranger, nor

* In the reign of Constantius, Sapor vanquished the Romans in nine battles, invaded Mesopotamia, took Amida, Singara, &c.

† Ammianus (xv. 2.) relates, that "Julian was accused of "going from the farm of Macellum, in Cappadocia, into "Asia, for the sake of liberal studies, and, in his way "through Constantinople, of seeing his brother." This ἀγρος, or farm, he afterwards calls ἀγρια, and thus the Latins term a farm *possessio*. PETAU.

Mr. Gibbon, in different places, styles this farm "an "ancient palace," "a strong castle," "the residence of "the kings of Cappadocia:" "the situation," he adds, "was pleasant, the buildings stately, the inclosures spa-"cious." It was at the foot of Mount Argæus, not far from Cæsarea, the capital of the province.

‡ From 345 to 351.

any of our friends, being admitted to us; where, secluded from all liberal studies, and debarred all intercourse with families of rank, we were forced to associate only with our domestics? From thence, by the assistance of the Gods, I was at length happily released; but my brother was most unfortunately inveigled to court. If there was any thing rustic and uncivilised in his deportment *, it was owing to that mountainous education. He therefore who doomed us to it is justly chargeable with the blame. Thanks be to the Gods, philosophy has purified me; but this blessing was denied to my brother. For after he had exchanged the country for the court, and had been invested with the purple, he immediately became an object of envy; nor did that envy cease, till, not contented with stripping him of the purple, it had accomplished his destruction. Yet though he might be

* This opinion of Julian concerning his brother is expressed by Libanius, in his panegyric on the consulship of Julian, p. 234, where he mentions some letters, in which he, a private man, admonished Gallus, then Cæsar, of his duty: "If his brother had attended to his letters, we "should now have had two princes. For he who did "not reign dared to admonish him who did. But when "he, who might have alleged something in his own de-"fence, had been put to death unheard, an inclination "appeared of preferring some charges against the other, "as if he had killed him; but that not being practicable, "his life was spared to be harrassed by fatiguing journeys, "thus suffering, though innocent, the punishment due to "guilt." The disposition of Gallus is also mentioned by Nazianzen, in his *Stelitent.* I. "Though of a passionate "temper, he was unaffectedly pious." PETAU.

deemed

deemed unfit to govern, surely he was not unworthy to live. And even allowing the expedience of depriving him of life, he should not have been denied the usual privilege of criminals, that of being heard in his own defence. The law does not forbid him who has the right of imprisoning robbers to put them also to death; deprived of all their honours, and reduced from a princely to a plebeian rank, it says, that they shall be executed without a trial. What if he could have produced the persons who impeached these traitors *? For in some of their letters that were shewn him, heaven knows what charges were contained! Thus, incensed by an unbecoming weakness, he was rashly betrayed into passion. He did nothing, however, that deserved death; but, you may say, that it is a rule universal, both among Greeks and Barbarians, that he who has received may revenge an insult. True—yet Constantius revenged it too severely. But he did nothing more than is usual. "It is usual," he once said, "for an enemy, when "enraged, to go any lengths." But to gratify an

* See in Ammianus (xiv. 1. 7.) a very ample detail of the cruelties of Gallus. His brother Julian insinuates that a conspiracy had been formed against him; and Zosimus names the persons engaged in it; a minister of considerable rank, and two obscure agents, who were resolved to make their fortunes. GIBBON.

Julian perhaps here refers to the massacre at Antioch of the Imperial ministers, Domitian and Montius, by the command of Gallus.

eunuch *, his chamberlain †, and also his master-cook, Constantius sacrificed to his most inveterate enemies ‡ his cousin-german, the Cæsar, the husband of his sister §, the father of his niece, whose sister

* Eusebius, who ruled the monarch and the palace with such absolute sway, that Constantius, according to the sarcasm of an impartial historian, possessed some credit with his haughty favourite: *Apud quem (si verè dici debeat) multa Constantius potuit.* Amm. xvii. 4. Gibbon.

† A favourite eunuch, who, in the language of that age, was styled the *præpositus*, or præfect, of the sacred bed-chamber. His duty was to attend the Emperor in his hours of state, or in those of amusement, and to perform about his person all those menial services which can only derive their splendor from the influence of royalty. Under a prince who deserved to reign, the great-chamberlain (for such we may call him) was an useful and humble domestic; but an artful domestic, who improves every occasion of unguarded confidence, will insensibly acquire over a feeble mind that ascendant which harsh wisdom and uncomplying virtue can seldom obtain. *Ibid.*

‡ The Emperor was easily convinced that his own safety was incompatible with the life of his cousin; the sentence of death was signed, dispatched, and executed; and the nephew of Constantine, with his hands tied behind his back, was beheaded in prison, like the vilest malefactor. *Ibid.*

This event happened "near Pola in Istria," says Ammianus, "where Crispus, the son of Constantine, was formerly killed." Near Flanona, or Flavona, in Dalmatia, (not far from Pola) say Socrates and Sozomen.

§ Gallus had married Constantia [rather Constantina], the daughter of Constantine, and sister of Constantius. Julian mentions his having a daughter by her; and also that Constantius had before married the sister of Gallus. These two circumstances, related, as far as I know, by him only, were before unknown. The first of these is deduced from this passage a little corrected. For ἀδελφιδῆς ("niece") should evidently have been written, instead of ἀδελφιδοῦς ("nephew.")

ſiſter he himſelf had married, and who was connected to him by ſo many domeſtic ties. Me, not without difficulty, he diſmiſſed, after removing me to various places, and keeping me in confinement, ſeven months. And if ſome God, to inſure my ſafety, had not ingratiated me with his beautiful and excellent wife, Euſebia *, I could not have eſcaped his reſentment. Though the Gods will atteſt that my brother, when he purſued thoſe meaſures, was never ſeen by me, even in a dream; for neither was I with him, nor did I viſit him, nor was I in his neighbourhood. And when

("nephew.") Gallus had the ſame father as Julian; his mother was Galla, the ſiſter of Rufinus and Cerealis, whom the Conſulſhip, ſays Ammianus (l. xiv.) had ennobled. Conſtantius ſeems to have married the daughter of this Galla before Euſebia, and I know not whether it was ſhe with whom Conſtantius celebrated his nuptials in the life-time, and by the management, of his father, as related by Euſebius, in his Life of Conſtantine. That Conſtantius had more wives, is affirmed by Ammianus. And Victor ſays, in his Epitome, "of his wives, of whom he had "many, he loved Euſebia moſt." Euſebia is generally mentioned as the firſt; and Fauſtina [or Fauſta] as the ſecond and laſt, by whom he had a poſthumous daughter, Conſtantia, who was married to the Emperor Gratian. PETAU.

* A woman of beauty and merit, who, by the aſcendant ſhe had gained over the mind of her huſband, counterbalanced, in ſome meaſure, the powerful conſpiracy of the eunuchs. She was a native of Theſſalonica in Macedonia, of a noble family, and the daughter, as well as ſiſter, of Conſuls. Her marriage with the Emperor may be placed in the year 352. In a divided age, the hiſtorians of all parties agree in her praiſes. GIBBON.

In culmine tam celſo humana, is her panegyric by Ammianus. "In ſuch an exalted ſtation not inhuman," gives an imperfect idea of it in Engliſh.

I wrote to him, which was seldom, my letters were short. I therefore gladly took refuge in the house of my mother. For as to the estate of my father, of none of his possessions had I the least share, no land, nor a house, not a slave, the worthy Constantius having seized all my paternal inheritance, without giving me the merest trifle. Having despoiled Gallus of the effects of his mother, he gave him a few of his father's.

Most part, at least, if not the whole, of his behaviour to me, before he conferred on me that most respectable name *, but in fact imposed on me a severe and laborious slavery, you shall now hear. Having thus with great difficulty, and beyond my expectation, escaped, and being happily sheltered under the roof of my mother, a sycophant, from the neighbourhood of Sirmium †, falsely reported, that new commotions might be expected there. You have heard, no doubt, of Africanus and Marinus; nor can the name of Felix have escaped you, and what was their fate ‡.

As

* Of Cæsar.

† The capital of Illyricum, at present Sirmisch or Sirmick, a small town, almost ruined, in the Lower Hungary. La Bleterie.

‡ Ammianus (xv. 3.) mentions a drunken and treasonable entertainment at Sirmium, given by Africanus, governor of the second Pannonia (A. D. 354), in consequence of which, on the information of Gaudentius, the sycophant here meant, all the company were arrested. Marinus, a tribune, and the principal delinquent, stabbed himself in a tavern, on the road, at Aquileia. And the rest were put to the torture at Milan, and afterwards imprisoned. This, doubtless, is the incident to which Julian alludes. A person named

As soon as Constantius received this intelligence, and had also been assured by Dynamius, another informer from the Gauls, that Sylvanus * would soon revolt against him; alarmed and terrified he sent for me, and after ordering me to retire for a short time into Greece, he suddenly recalled me. He had never seen me before, except once in Cappadocia, and once in Italy, at the earnest intreaty of Eusebia, that I might be assured of safety. Yet I was six months in the same city † with him, and he promised to see me again. But that heaven-detested eunuch ‡, his trusty chamberlain, was ignorantly and undesignedly my friend, by preventing my frequent access. Constantius himself perhaps might not wish to see me; nevertheless, all my misfortunes were owing to that favourite, as he was apprehensive, that, if we

named Felix was made master of the offices by Constantius, but rejected by Julian. And there was another who was Count of the sacred largesses. But probably this Felix was one of the riotous company abovementioned.

* For an account of this revolt see a note in the succeeding page.

Οσοι ὑπω τῃ Νεαλῃ, και ἐν αὐτω πολεμου ἀναφανεισθαι. This I cannot understand. What follows is related more at large by Ammianus and Zosimus. See also *Orat.* III. "on Eu-"sebia." PETAV.

These words may be thus corrected: Οσοι ὑπω τον Σιλβανον αὐτω πολεμιον ἀναφαινεισθαι. Zosimus mentions the same Dynamius at the end of l. ii. But he is mistaken in ascribing to him the death of Gallus Cæsar; as Dynamius calumniated Sylvanus, not Gallus. VALOIS.

This correction is adopted by the translator.

† Mediolanum, or Milan.

‡ Eusebius above-mentioned, whom Julian, when he was Emperor, put to death.

should be acquainted, a friendship might ensue; and if my fidelity had been approved, I might have been invested with some place of trust.

As soon as I returned from Greece, the blessed Eusebia, by the eunuchs of her household, shewed me many acts of kindness. And soon after, on his arrival, after terminating the war with Sylvanus *, I

* In the summer which preceded the elevation of Julian (Sept. A. D. 355.) this general had been chosen to deliver Gaul from the tyranny of the Barbarians; but Sylvanus soon discovered that he had left his most dangerous enemies in the Imperial court. A dexterous informer, countenanced by several of the principal ministers, procured from him some recommendatory letters; and erasing the whole of the contents, except the signature, filled up the vacant parchment with matters of high and treasonable import. By the industry and courage of his friends, the fraud was, however, detected, and, in a great council of the civil and military officers, held in the presence of the Emperor himself, the innocence of Sylvanus was publickly acknowledged. But the discovery came too late; the report of the calumny, and the hasty seizure of his estate, had already provoked the indignant chief to the rebellion of which he was so unjustly accused. He assumed the purple at his head-quarters of Cologne; and his active powers appeared to menace Italy with an invasion, and Milan with a siege. In this emergency, Ursicinus, a general of equal rank, regained, by an act of treachery, the favour which he had lost by his eminent services in the East. Exasperated, as he might speciously allege, by injuries of a similar nature, he hastened, with a few followers, to join the standard, and to betray the confidence, of his too credulous friend. After a reign of only twenty-eight days, Sylvanus was assassinated. The soldiers, who, without any criminal intention, had blindly followed the example of their leader, immediately returned to their allegiance; and the flatterers of Constantius celebrated the wisdom and felicity of the monarch who had extinguished a civil war without the hazard of a battle. GIBBON.

was

was allowed to go to court, induced by what is called a Theſſalian perſuaſion upon force *. For on my reſolutely declining all intercourſe with the palace, the courtiers convening, as if they had been in a barber's ſhop, ſhaved my chin, and throwing over me a military mantle, tranſformed me, as they thought, into a very ridiculous ſoldier. For none of the ſinical ornaments of thoſe wretches were ſuitable to my taſte. I walked about therefore, not like them, ſtaring on every ſide, and with a haughty gait, but poring on the ground, as I had been taught by my preceptor †. This was at firſt the ſubject of their laughter, but ſoon after of their ſuſpicion, which at length gave place to envy. But I muſt not omit, that I reſided among them, and that I did not diſdain even to lodge

* This proverb, Θετταλικη πειθαναγκη, is alſo quoted by Julian, in his firſt Oration, and by Eunapius. But, as to its origin, the collectors of proverbs are ſilent. PETAU.

Spanheim ſuppoſes it to originate from the impoſtures, perfidy, and magic of the Theſſalians, which were alſo proverbial. Our Engliſh proverb, which is not unlike it, "Patience on force," has an addition, which may perhaps afford a clue; "is a medicine for a mad horſe;" the inhabitants of Theſſaly being anciently famous for their horſemanſhip. Πειθαναγκη is applied by Cicero to Cæſar, *ad Attic.* IX. 13.

† Mardonius, an eunuch, mentioned afterwards more particularly in the Miſopogon.

Julian himſelf relates, with ſome humour, the circumſtances of his own metamorphoſis, his down-caſt looks, and his perplexity at being thus ſuddenly tranſported into a new world, where every object appeared ſtrange and hoſtile. GIBBON.

with

with thoſe whom I knew to have been the aſſaſſins of all my relations, and whom I had reaſon to ſuſpect of meditating alſo my deſtruction. What floods of tears I ſhed *, and what lamentations I uttered, when, extending my hands towards your citadel †, I intreated and implored Minerva to protect her ſervant, and not to deliver him up to his enemies, many of you, who were preſent, can atteſt; and, above all, the Goddeſs herſelf knows, that I petitioned death of her at Athens in preference to that journey. That the Goddeſs did not abandon me, nor deliver me up, the event has ſhewn. On the contrary, ſhe has every where been my guide, and was conſtantly with me,

* Libanius, in his panegyrical Oration on the conſulſhip of Julian, p. 235, has taken this, and ſome other paſſages, almoſt in the ſame words, from this Epiſtle. PETAU.

† This was the temple of Minerva at Athens. The Emperor aſſigned Athens for the place of his honorable exile, which is implied in what Julian ſays above of his "ſhort retirement into Greece." He was ſent thither in May, 355, and there "ſpent ſix months amidſt the "groves of the Academy (as Mr. Gibbon expreſſes it) "far from the tumult of arms, and the treachery of "courts, in a free intercourſe with the philoſophers of "the age, who ſtudied to cultivate the genius, to en-"courage the vanity, and to inflame the devotion of their "royal pupil. Gregory Nazianzen was his fellow-ſtudent; "and the ſymptoms, which he ſo tragically deſcribes, of "the future wickedneſs of the apoſtate, amount only to "ſome bodily imperfections, and to ſome peculiarities in "his ſpeech and manner. He proteſts, however, that "he then foreſaw and foretold the calamities of the "church and ſtate." St. Baſil was another of his fellow-ſtudents.

borrowing

borrowing guardian-angels * from the Sun and Moon †.

What follows may be also worth relating. On my return to Milan, where I resided in one of the suburbs, Eusebia frequently sent me friendly messages, and urged me to write to her, on any subject, with the utmost confidence. This induced me to compose this letter, or rather petition, with an adjuration: "So may you have children and heirs, "so may God bless you with both, as you send "me home ‡ immediately §!" After this, I was apprehensive of not being able to convey it safely

* Julian did not yield till the Gods had signified their will by repeated visions and omens. His piety then forbade him to resist. GIBBON.

He here declares himself a Pagan, which may serve to correct the hasty assertion of Ammianus, who supposes Constantinople to have been the place where he first discovered it. *Ibid.*

† Julian, however, seems to have "borrowed" these angels from the Christian Scriptures, with which he was well acquainted. On the angels of the Sun he descants at large in his IVth Oration *ad Solem Regem*, and they are also mentioned by Iamblichus, in his Life of Pythagoras, and by Proclus on the 2d book of Hesiod.

‡ So he styles Asia Minor, where he had been educated.

§ Julian animated his army, not only by presents, but by constantly swearing by the importance of the enterprize in which they were engaged. "So may we subdue the "Persians!" "So may we repair the shattered Roman "world!" As Trajan is reported frequently to have confirmed what he said by swearing, "So may I see Dacia re-"duced to a province!" "So may I master the Danube "and Euphrates with bridges!" and the like.

AMMIANUS.

into

into the palace. And therefore I beſought the Gods to inform me by night whether I ſhould ſend it to the Empreſs, or not. They threatened me, if I ſent it, with the moſt ignominious death. I appeal to all the Gods for the truth of what I aſſert. In obedience to them, I ſuppreſſed it. But from that night I imbibed an idea which it may not be improper to mention. "Now," ſaid I to myſelf, "I undertake to oppoſe the Gods, and "imagine that I can judge for myſelf better than "they who know all things. Human wiſdom, "confining its view to the preſent, may think "that it judges well, when, in ſome inſtances, "which rarely happen, it commits no miſtake. "But no one deliberates on events that will hap-"pen three hundred years hence, as that is im-"poſſible, or on occurrences that are long paſt, "that being needleſs; but only concerning objects "that are preſent, and of which the beginnings "and ſeeds, as it were, now exiſt. But the wiſ-"dom of the Gods, obſerving the moſt diſtant "events, or rather all things, always directs what "is right, and does what is beſt. As they are no "leſs the cauſe of the preſent than of the future, "muſt they not neceſſarily be acquainted with the "preſent?" Thus far then the laſt advice ſeemed to me much the moſt prudent; and viewing it in the light of juſtice, I added, "Would you not be "provoked at being defrauded of any part of your "property, or, on your requiring its attendance,

"if

" if any one of your domestic animals * should " abscond? And will you, who pretend to be a " man, and that not of the common, vulgar herd, " but of the rational and temperate, defraud the " Gods of your service, and not suffer them to dis- " pose of you as they please? Beware lest you act " not only foolishly, but contemptuously, with re- " gard to the divine laws. What occasion is here " for fortitude? The pretence is ridiculous. Will " you then condescend to cringe and flatter, in " order to preserve your life, instead of removing " every obstacle, and allowing the Gods to act as " they please; dividing your solicitude for yourself " with them †, as was the wish of Socrates; com- " mitting every thing to them, possessing and " usurping nothing, but chearfully accepting " whatever they bestow?" Thinking this advice most safe and prudent, as it was suggested by the Gods (for by avoiding present evils to expose myself to future dangers seemed the utmost rashness), I desisted and obeyed. Immediately I was honoured with the title, and invested with the robe ‡, of Cæsar.

* In the original, και ιππος, και προβατον, και βοιδιον, (" a " horse, a sheep, or a heifer.")

† Διελομενον προς αυτες [τες Θεες] την επιμελειαν την εαυτε. This language Julian perhaps rather learned from Christianity: Πασαν την μεριμναν υμων επιρριψαντες επ' αυτον [τον Θεον] κ. τ. λ. *Casting all your care upon him*, &c. 1 Peter. v. 7.

‡ Ammianus, xv. 8. " Saying this, he thus accosts Julian, " soon after he had been arrayed with the purple, and de- " clared Cæsar, to the great joy of the army, but some- " what dejected, and with his brow contracted." He means there-

Cæsar. Of this slavery was the consequence, and every day, how great, O Hercules, was my apprehension, how imminent my danger! Barred gates, guards, servants searched, lest they should convey letters from my friends, and a strange household! I was with difficulty allowed to bring with me to court, as my personal attendants, four domestics, two of whom were boys; and of the two others one only, my librarian *, from conscientious motives, was privately, to the utmost of his power, my assistant. The other, who of my many friends and companions alone was faithful, was my physician †. Not being known to be also my friend, he was

therefore the purple which was common both to the Cæsar and the Augustus. PETAU.

After the investiture of the Cæsar had been performed, the two princes returned to the palace in the same chariot; and during the slow procession, Julian repeated to himself a verse of his favourite Homer, which he might equally apply to his fortune and to his fears:

Ελλαβε πορφυρεος θανατος, και μοιρα κραταιη. Il. v. 83.

——— the *purple* hand of death
Clos'd his dim eyes, and fate suppress'd his breath.
POPE, 108.

The word "purple," which Homer had used as a vague but common epithet for death, was applied by Julian to express, very aptly, the nature and object of his own apprehensions. GIBBON.

* Eunemerus. He was employed in the care of a valuable collection of books, the gift of the Empress, who studied the inclinations, as well as the interest, of her friend. *Ibid.*

† Oribasius. See the first note on Epistle XVII. which is addressed to him in confidence. The elogium of "singular fidelity" is applied by the Latin translator to the librarian. The original, I think, warrants my applying it, as is more probable, to the physician.

my

my fellow-traveller. Such were my fears and apprehenſions, that the viſits which were offered me by many of my friends, whom I much wiſhed to ſee, I choſe to decline, leſt I ſhould involve them in my misfortunes *. But this, though connected with my ſubject, is rather foreign to it.

With three hundred and ſixty ſoldiers Conſtantius ſent me into Gaul, which was then in confuſion, in the middle of winter †, not ſo much to command his armies there, as to be ſubordinate to his generals. For they had expreſs orders to be as much on their guard againſt me as againſt the enemy, leſt I ſhould attempt any innovations. Every thing being thus ſettled, about the ſummer ſolſtice ‡ he allowed me to join the army, bearing his

* Julian repreſents, in the moſt pathetic terms, the diſtreſs of his new ſituation. The proviſion of his table was, however, ſo elegant and ſumptuous, that the young philoſopher rejected it with diſdain. Amm. XVI. 5. GIBBON.

† Libanius, in his panegyric on the conſulſhip of Julian, ſays the ſame, viz. that "leſs than four hundred ſoldiers "were given him, in the depth of winter;" and what follows he has tranſcribed, as has before been obſerved, from this Epiſtle. Ammianus (xv. 8.) ſays, that "Julian was "declared Cæſar on the 6th of November [355]; ſoon after "Helena was given him in marriage; and on De-"cember 1, he ſet out for Gaul." Marcellus and Salluſt were ſent with him, and to them all the management of the province and of the war was entruſted, leſt Julian ſhould attempt any innovations. PETAU.

‡ I cannot agree with the learned [Latin] tranſlator, who, for "ſummer," affirms we ſhould read "winter ſolſtice." For this paſſage is not to be underſtood of that year, towards the end of which Julian was ſent into the Gauls; but of the ſubſequent year, when he entered on his firſt conſulſhip with

his robe and image. For he had both said and written, that "he did not mean to give the Gauls "a king, but one who should exhibit to them his "dress * and image." The first campaign, as you have heard, having been ill-conducted †, and no advantage gained, at my return into winter-quarters, I was exposed to the utmost danger. For I had not the power of assembling the troops; this was entrusted to another, and a few only were quartered with me. My assistance being requested by the neighbouring towns, after sending them most of my forces, I had

with Constantius; which was the year of Christ 356. At the summer solstice the Gallic soldiers used to set out on expeditions. VALOIS.

* Σκημα not οχημα ("a carriage") the common reading. *Ibid.*

† Julian was made Cæsar in the consulship of Arbetio and Lollian, A. D. 355. Towards the end of that year, [as above mentioned], he was sent into Gaul, and wintered at Vienne, where he entered on his first consulship, with Constantius (the 8th time) for his collegue, at the beginning of the year 356, which was the first year of his Gallic government. This campaign, Julian complains, was unsuccessful, and that no advantages were gained. But if we refer to Ammianus, we shall find that less indeed than accorded with the inclination and impetuosity of Julian, yet much, nevertheless, was done against the Barbarians. While he was at Vienne, hearing that the Germans were making incursions in order to ravage Gaul, and had with difficulty been repulsed at Augustodunum [Autun] he determined to pursue them. After defeating and dispersing them, he recovered Colonia Agrippina [Cologne]. And he so terrified the kings of the Franks, that he compelled them to make peace. "Rejoicing" (adds Ammianus) "at these first fruits of conquest, he went into "winter-quarters at Treves, a then convenient town of

had scarce any left *. So affairs were circumstanced. But the general in chief †, having in-

" the Senones." I suspect therefore that Julian wrote [ου] κακως δε, ως ακηκοαλε, [" not] ill conducted, as you have " heard;") and, soon after, περαχθεντος [τινος] σπευδειν, (" and " [some] advantage gained.") But wintering at Sens, with a few soldiers, the enemy assembled on a sudden, and besieged the town; and Marcellus, master-general of the cavalry, who commanded in the next cantonment, neglected and refused to assist him. Yet in twenty days the Barbarians raised the siege, and retired. This we collect from Ammianus xvi. 4. PETAU.

Ammianus appears much better satisfied with the success of this first campaign than Julian himself; who very frankly owns that he did nothing of consequence, and that he fled before the enemy. GIBBON.

* In the original, αυλος απελειφθην μονος, " I was left " alone."

† As soon as Constantius heard how perfidiously Marcellus had acted at Sens, " absolving him from his military " oath" (these are the words of Ammianus), " he ordered " him to retire to his own house; and he, as if he had been " grievously injured, plotted something against Julian, " trusting that the ears of Augustus would be open to every " charge." But the eunuch Eutherius, the most faithful præfect of his chamber, being dispatched by Julian, refuted this calumny. This Marcellus was a native of Serdica, whither, when he was displaced, he retired. So says Ammianus, as I have corrected him. The common reading is neither perfect, nor conveys that sense. For, after a long digression, arising from the eunuch Eutherius, on the wickedness of the eunuchs, Ammianus, returning to Marcellus, expresses himself thus: *Nunc redeam unde diverti. Superato, ut dixi, Marcello*, eversâque Serdicâ, *unde oriebatur*, &c. Read *reversoque Serdicam*. PETAU.

The son of this Marcellus aspiring to the empire was put to death by Julian in 361. Libanius speaks rather more advantageously of the military talents of Marcellus. And Julian intimates [above] that he would not so easily have been recalled, unless he had given other reasons of offence to the court. GIBBON.

curred the displeasure of the Emperor, was superseded and dismissed, for inability; and, because I had acted with clemency and moderation, my talents and abilities were not deemed equal to the command. For I thought it by no means right to struggle with my yoke, or officiously to assume the general *, by obtruding my advice, unless when I saw something hazardous attempted, that I thought should have been omitted, or neglected, that should have been done. But having more than once received some [im]proper † treatment, I determined for the future to be silent, and contented myself with the pageantry of the robe and image. For to that I thought I had a right.

Constantius imagining that the Gallic affairs would soon wear a better aspect, not indeed that the alteration would be so great, gave me the command of the armies ‡ in the beginning of spring. As soon

* Συγομαχειν, ωδι παρεξαλλαγειν.

† Καθηκοντως ("properly") in the original. Ου ("not") seems necessary to be prefixed, implying, that he afterwards was quiet, because he had once or twice been treated ill. PETAU.

‡ When Julian was appointed general, and what was the nature of his commission, deserves enquiry. He himself says, that it happened after Marcellus was dismissed, and sent to Serdica. But he also mentions, that, after he obtained this command, he rebuilt Colonia Agrippina (Cologne) and another town, Tabernæ, with some other towns of Gaul, to the number of forty-five, recovered from the Barbarians. Very different is the account given by Ammianus. For he affirms, that Julian recovered Colonia before the end of the first year of his being in Gaul, that is, in the consulship of Constantius (the 8th time) and Julian,

soon as the corn was ripe, I took the field, many of the Germans dwelling securely near the towns that they had destroyed in the Gauls. There were forty-

Julian, of our Lord 356, before Marcellus was commissioned by Constantius, which happened towards the end of the same, or the commencement of the ensuing, year. Marcellus was succeeded by Severus, a man well versed in the art of war, good-natured, and unassuming; at the acquisition of whom Julian expressed much pleasure, and declared "that he would obey his able directions," (says Ammianus) "as a soldier should an [obliging] leader." The sense requires *morigerus*. Barbatio also was sent with him, who was to attack the Barbarians in another quarter with twenty-five thousand men. He was master-general of the foot, and Severus of the horse, as Ammianus informs us, l. XVI. But if we compare the words of Julian with the history of Ammianus, we shall find, that the command of the army was given him in the second year of his being in the Gauls, viz. A. D. 357, when he engaged the Alemanni and king Chnodomar, "after the corn was ripe." For in that year he acted as general, at least, of that army which Severus had commanded. And so far was Barbatio, who commanded the other, from obeying him, that he neglected and refused to assist him, when he was in danger. Therefore his saying, "he gave me the command "of the armies," I do not think true of them all. Nor should it be omitted, that, even in the first year, when Marcellus was still in Gaul, the Cæsar Julian was not so obnoxious to the generals as not to be entrusted with some command. For Ammianus relates (XVI.) that, in that year, which was 356 of Christ, when Julian went to Rheims, "he ordered the army to be collected in one body," in order to disguise his force; "which army was then com-"manded by Marcellus, the successor of Ursicinus;" and also that Ursicinus himself was ordered to wait in the same place the event of that expedition. But though he had the title of governing the province, and managing the war, yet the masters-general of the forces, as Constantius had ordered, did not implicitly obey him, but in general, were refractory. Add, that Julian here oratorically depresses

forty-five such towns that were dismantled *, besides villages and smaller fortifications. The Barbarians then possessed all the territory on this side of the Rhine, from its sources to the ocean. Those who were the nearest to us were three hundred stadia † distant from its banks. A district thrice as extensive was left a desert by their devastations, where the Gauls could not pasture their cattle. Some towns were also deserted by their inhabitants, though the Barbarians had not yet approached them. Finding Gaul thus distressed, I recovered the city of Agrippina [Cologne] on the Rhine, which had been taken about ten months before, and also the neighbouring castle of Argentoratum [Strasburgh] near the foot of Vosegus ‡; and we

his situation below the truth, as if he had then no other employment than carrying about the Imperial image. Zosimus says, (l. III.) that "Constantius permitted Julian, "at his departure, to regulate the Gauls as he should "think expedient." This Constantius seems to have done openly; but privately he ordered his præfects to watch all his words and actions, and sometimes to obey perversely. See the Oration of Libanius on the consulship of Julian.

PETAU.

* Zosimus (l. III.) says, that "forty towns in Gaul, "which the Barbarians had destroyed, were rebuilt by "Julian." And he also mentions, how much they had overrun Gaul. Libanius enumerates as many as Julian, taking all that history from this Epistle. *Ibid.*

† Near forty miles.

‡ One of the principal mountains in Gaul, now Mount Vauge, which separates Burgundy from Lorrain, and also divides Lorrain from Alsace, stretching towards the north. It gives rise to the rivers Maese, Moselle, and Sar.

CLUVIER.

fought not ingloriously *. Of this battle, no doubt, you have heard †. The Gods then giving me the captive king of the enemy ‡, I did not envy Constantius the glory of the action. Though I was not allowed to triumph, I had it in my power to have slain my enemy, nor could I have been prevented leading him through Gaul, exposing him in the towns, and thus insulting the misfortunes of Cnodomar. None of these measures, however, I approved, but immediately sent him to Constantius, who was then just returned from the Quadian and Sarmatian war §. While I was fighting, he was travelling alone, and holding an ami-

* Και συαχισαμην ουκ' ακλεως. The very words of Horace, on a different and less glorious warfare, l. III. ode 26,

Et militavi non sine gloriâ.

† Julian himself speaks of the battle of Strasburgh with the modesty of conscious merit. Zosimus compares it with the victory of Alexander over Darius; and yet we are at a loss to discover any of those strokes of military genius which fix the attention of ages on the conduct and success of a single day. GIBBON.

‡ Meaning Cnodomar, who, in his flight, falling from his horse into a morass, and being taken prisoner, was sent to Constantius. See Ammianus (l. XVI. 12.) "Six thousand "of the Germans," he says, "were killed in this battle, "besides those that were drowned, and only two hundred "and forty-three of the Romans." PETAU.

§ The events of this war are related by Ammianus, (XVI. 10. XVII. 12, 13. XIX. 11.) The Quadi, a fierce and powerful nation, were reduced to sue for peace; and the Sarmatian exiles, who had been expelled from the country by the rebellion of their slaves, were reinstated. Constantius, after this success, received the name of Sarmaticus. GIBBON.

cable intercourse with the nations that border on the Danube. Yet not I, but he, triumphed *.

Another year succeeded, and a third, in which all the Barbarians were driven out of Gaul, most of the towns were rebuilt, and many loaded vessels arrived from Britain. Having collected a fleet of six hundred ships †, four hundred of which I had caused to be built in less than ten months, I brought them all into the Rhine; no easy task, on account of the irruptions and neighbourhood of the Barbarians. This had seemed so

* Constantius, though he was forty days journey distant, arrogated to himself the glory of this victory, describing the battle, as if he had been present, in letters crowned with laurel, which he sent to the provinces, and never mentioning the name of Julian. AMMIANUS.

† Zosimus reckons eight hundred, which, he says, were built of materials found on the banks of the Rhine; that they might sail to Britain, and bring back corn and provisions to supply the garrisons. I know not that Ammianus mentions so many ships being built. He says, indeed, in his XVIIIth book, that Julian fortified the towns that had been destroyed by the Barbarians, and built granaries in the room of those which were burnt, where the provisions accustomed to be brought from Britain might be lodged. PETAU.

If we compute the six hundred corn-ships at only seventy tons each, they were capable of exporting a hundred and twenty thousand quarters (see Arbuthnot's "Weights and Measures"); and the country, which could bear so large an exportation, must already have attained an improved state of agriculture. These barks were framed in the forest of the Ardennes. GIBBON.

Some of these vessels, as appears from Ammianus, must have been freighted with provisions, as well as with corn, which would reduce the quantity of the latter.

imprac-

impracticable to Florentius *, that he had agreed to give two thousand pounds weight of silver † to permit a free passage. Constantius, on being informed of this (for they corresponded concerning this proposed present), expressly ordered me to agree to it, unless I thought it absolutely disgraceful. But how could I possibly think otherwise, when it seemed so to Constantius himself, though he was always very obsequious to the Barbarians? No payment therefore was made; but marching against them, the Gods being present and propitious, I surprised part of the Salians ‡, I reduced the Chamavians ‡, and took great numbers of cattle,

* Prætorian Præfect of Gaul, an effeminate tyrant, a crafty and corrupt statesman, incapable of pity or remorse. GIBBON.

† Five *aurei* (somewhat more than eleven shillings each) were the legal tender for a pound of silver. GREAVES. Consequently two thousand pounds of silver would amount to 5500l. sterling.

‡ Ammianus (XVII. 8.) relates, that, in the year when Datianus and Cerealis were consuls, Julian undertook an expedition against the Salian Franks, who had formerly settled near Toxandria [from the neighbourhood of Tongres to the conflux of the Vahal and the Rhine] whom, terrified at his sudden approach, he forced to surrender. Afterwards, he subdued the Chamavians [a people near Munster]. Treating the Salians with lenity, he marched against the Quadi, whom, on account of their notorious robberies, he justly destroyed. And then happened that remarkable story of the king of the Chamavians, which is related by Eunapius, and more briefly by Zosimus. PETAU.

See it also in the Abbé de la Bleterie's *Vie de Julien*, p. 82—4. and in Mr. Gibbon's Roman History, II. p. 171.

cattle, with many women and children. This irruption so much alarmed the Barbarians, that hostages were immediately sent me, and the free importation of corn was secured.

To relate every circumstance would be tedious. In short, thrice, while I was Cæsar *, I passed the

This difference of treatment confirms the opinion, that the Salian Franks were permitted to retain the settlements in Toxandria. GIBBON.

It is pretended, that the name of Toxandria is still preserved in a village, in the territory of Liege, called Tessender-loo. LA BLETERIE.

* In the years 356, 358, and 359. Ammianus treats eloquently of the two latter. The first he does not mention; but it may be inferred from what he says in his xvith book, where, relating the actions of the year 357, he says, that what chiefly induced Julian to give battle to the Germans and Cnodomar was, that "in the year just "ended, the Romans making large incursions beyond the "Rhine, no one appeared in defence of his own home, "nor stood his ground; but the Barbarians, removing to "a distance, subsisted with difficulty, blockading all the "roads with trunks of trees, during the inclemency of "winter." Which words mean, that Julian made war on the Germans beyond the Rhine in the year above-mentioned, and therefore at the approach of winter. And this happened at the time when he recovered Agrippina [Cologne]. PETAU.

It was not enough for Julian to have delivered the provinces of Gaul from the Barbarians of Germany. He aspired to emulate the glory of the first and most illustrious of the Emperors; after whose example, he composed his own Commentaries of the Gallic war. Cæsar has related, with conscious pride, the manner in which he twice passed the Rhine. Julian could boast, that, before he assumed the title of Augustus, he had carried the Roman eagles beyond that great river in three successful expeditions. GIBBON.

Rhine.

Rhine. Twenty thousand captives * I rescued from the enemy on the other side of that river. In two battles and one siege, I took a thousand prisoners, and those not of a useless age, but men in the prime of life. Four bands of the most chosen † foot I sent to Constantius, with three others, not inferior, of horse, and two most distinguished cohorts. I now, such was the will of the Gods! took all the towns: before, I had taken near forty. I invoke Jupiter, and all the tutelar Gods of cities and of nations, to attest my attachment and fidelity to him. I have acted towards him as I would wish a son of my own to act towards me. The respect that I shewed him exceeded that of any former Cæsar to any other Emperor. I may boldly dare him therefore to allege any thing against me, even to the present moment, on that head. Some ridiculous pretences he has invented. "He has de-" tained," says my adversary, "Lupicinus ‡, and

* He meant, no doubt, in different campaigns.
LA BLETERIE.

Zosimus relates the whole transaction at large. See *Legationum excerpta ex Eunapio.* PETAU.

† What one of our modern generals calls "the *elite* of "the army." But why "the *flower* of the army" should not sound as well, or why our brave garrison of Gibraltar should not make "*sallies*" as well as "*sorties*," &c. is difficult to conceive. These military Gallicisms were ridiculed long ago with great humour in the Tatler.

‡ This Lupicinus, master-general of the cavalry, on the death of Severus, was gone to Britain at the time when Julian was made Emperor by the army; but as he was of a haughty and enterprising spirit, lest he should take any steps against the new Emperor, a notary was dispatched to Bononia [Boulogne] to observe that coast. AMMIANUS.

"three

"three * others." And ſuppoſing I had even put them to death, traitors and conſpirators as they were, it ſtill would have become him to have ſmothered the reſentment which their ſufferings might have excited, for the ſake of friendſhip and union. Theſe men, not in the leaſt hurt, I ſecured as dangerous diſturbers of the public peace, and though I expended upon them much of the public treaſure, I plundered them of nothing. But what would have been their puniſhment, if Conſtantius had been injured, and inflicted it? And does not he, by his reſentment againſt me, on account of theſe men, who bear not the leaſt relation to him, arraign and deride my folly, in having been ſo obſequiouſly attentive to the aſſaſſin of my father, of my couſins, and, in a word, the executioner of my whole family and kindred? Conſider alſo the deference that I have paid him ever ſince I became Emperor; as appears from my letters.

How I behaved to him before that time, I will now inform you. Being ſenſible that I ſhould incur the whole danger and diſgrace of every fault, though committed by others, I intreated him, that, if he had determined to declare me Cæſar, he would give me the beſt and ableſt counſellors. Inſtead of which, he gave me at firſt the vileſt. When one of them, the moſt abandoned of all,

* Of the other three nothing certain can be affirmed. Florentius ſeems to have been one of them, who, Ammianus

all *, * * * * † he listened indeed very readily, and gave me with reluctance an excellent officer in Sallust ‡. On account of his virtue, he soon became invidious. But not being satisfied with him alone, and observing the different manner in which Constantius treated the others, confiding in them, and not regarding him, embracing his right hand and his knees, "Though I am not acquainted," said I, "or ever was, with any one of these, yet "knowing them by report, and in deference to "you, I will consider them as my friends, and "esteem them as old acquaintance. It is not "proper, however, that my affairs should be con-"fided to them, or that theirs should be embroiled "by mine. I request you, therefore, to direct me, "by some written rules §, what you would wish

anus says, at the very beginning of Julian's government fled from Vienne, where he then was, to Constantius. Julian "leaving his family and effects untouched, and al-"lowing him the use of a public carriage, ordered him to "return in safety into the East." PETAU.

If Florentius fled to Constantius, how could he be one that was "detained by Julian?"

* Meaning Marcellus, of whom above. *Ibid.*

† Imperfect.

‡ We are ignorant of the actual office of this excellent minister, whom Julian afterwards created Præfect of Gaul. GIBBON.

§ When Julian was setting out, Constantius gave him a letter, in which he not only prescribed rules for his conduct, but also limited his diet, and the amount of his daily expences. Ammianus, l. xvi. 5. "Lastly, as he constantly "perused the letter, which Constantius, as if he had been "sending a son-in-law to school, had written with his own "hand, regulating, with too much freedom, what should "be expended on the Cæsar's table," &c. PETAU.

"me

" me to avoid, and what to do. Then, with the " utmoſt reaſon, you will praiſe me if I obey, " and puniſh me if I tranſgreſs. But I am firmly " of opinion, that I ſhall in no inſtance controvert " your commands."

The innovations that Pentadius immediately attempted *, it is needleſs to mention. I oppoſed them all; conſequently he became my enemy. Soon after, by perverting another, and then a ſecond, and a third, and by bribing againſt me Paul † and Gaudentius ‡, notorious ſlanderers, he ſucceeded in having Salluſt, who was my friend §, recalled, and Lucian immediately appointed to ſucceed him. Florentius alſo was irritated by my oppoſing his in-

* At his complaining of Pentadius I am much ſurpriſed. For Ammianus mentions Pentadius (l. xx.) and ſays, that " he was maſter of the offices to Julian, and " was ſent by him, when he was made Emperor, to Con- " ſtantius, with Eutherius, his chief chamberlain." He cannot therefore be the ſame, who, Julian here ſays, was his enemy while he was Cæſar. PETAU.

† Paul was a notary, born in Spain, famous for cruel informations under Conſtantius, who was burnt alive, with Apodemus, when Julian was Emperor. See Ammianus, (l. XIX. and XXII.) *Ibid.*

‡ Gaudentius alſo was a notary, and having been ſent into the Gauls as a ſpy on the actions of Julian, was afterwards put to death by him at Antioch. Ammianus, (l. XXII.) *Ibid.*

Their executions [thoſe of the two former] were accepted as an inadequate atonement by the widows and orphans of ſo many hundred Romans, whom thoſe legal tyrants had betrayed and murdered. GIBBON.

As to Gaudentius, ſee the third note on Epiſtle X.

§ See the Conſolatory Oration on his departure, p. 30, &c.

ſatiable

satiable avarice *. They therefore persuaded Constantius, already perhaps jealous of my actions, to remove me from the command of the forces. And he wrote letters filled with invectives against me, and threatening destruction to the Gauls. Soon after, it appeared that he had ordered all the flower of the army, without exception, to be withdrawn from Gaul, charging Lupicinus and Gintonius † with this commission, and commanding me in no respect to oppose them.

In what words shall I now relate the works of the Gods? It was my intention, they can witness, divesting myself of all regal state and magnificence, to rest in peace, and never more to act in public. I only waited the return of Florentius and Lupi-

* See Epistle XVII.

† "Sintula, then tribune of the stables to the Cæsar," says Ammianus, (l. xx. 4.) "was joined in commission "with Decentius, a tribune and notary, to conduct the "troops out of the Gauls." Of Gintonius I do not remember to have read. But of this history see more in Ammianus and Zosimus, and also in the Oration of Libanius on the consulship of Julian. PETAU.

Julian was surprised by the hasty arrival of a tribune and a notary, with positive orders from the Emperor, which they were directed to execute, and he was commanded not to oppose; that four entire legions, the Celtæ, the Petulants, the Heruli, and the Batavians, should be separated from the standard of Julian; that, in each of the remaining bands, three hundred of the bravest youths should be selected; and that this numerous detachment, the strength of the Gallic army, should instantly begin their march, and exert their utmost diligence to arrive, before the opening the campaign, on the frontiers of Persia. GIBBON.

cinus,

cinus, the one being in Britain *, and the other at Vienne. In the mean time, a great diſturbance was raiſed among the natives and ſoldiers, an anonymous libel being diſperſed in a neighbouring town, among the Petulants and the Celts (the legions ſo named) filled with invectives againſt Conſtantius, and with complaints of his having betrayed the Gauls. And the author of that paper no leſs lamented my diſgrace. This being circulated, a general diſaffection enſued, and thoſe who were moſt in the intereſt of Conſtantius uſed their utmoſt endeavours to perſuade me to detach the troops as ſoon as poſſible, before the like libels were diſperſed among the reſt of the army. (Not one of my friends was then preſent). They were Nebridius †, Pentadius, and Decentius ‡, the latter

* Ammianus (l. xx. 1.) The valour of Lupicinus, and his military ſkill, are acknowledged by the hiſtorian, who, in his affected language, accuſes the general of exalting the horns of his pride, bellowing in a tragic tone, and exciting a doubt whether he was more cruel or avaricious. The danger from the Scots and Picts was ſo ſerious, that Julian himſelf had ſome thoughts of paſſing over into the iſland. GIBBON.

† Prætorian Præfect. This faithful miniſter ſingly oppoſed the ſolemn engagement of the troops to devote themſelves to the ſervice of Julian. Alone and unaſſiſted, he aſſerted the rights of Conſtantius in the midſt of an armed and angry multitude, to whoſe fury he had almoſt fallen an honourable, but uſeleſs, ſacrifice. After loſing one of his hands by the ſtroke of a ſword, he embraced the knees of the prince whom he had offended. Julian covered the Præfect with his imperial mantle, and protecting him from the zeal of his followers, diſmiſſed him to his own houſe, with

latter of whom Constantius had dispatched for that purpose. My reply, that "we ought to "wait for Lupicinus and Florentius," was totally disregarded, they all insisting that the opposite plan should be pursued, unless I meant to confirm and corroborate former suspicions. "Besides," they added, "the detaching the troops will now be "deemed your measure; but when those ministers "return, Constantius will impute it not to you, "but to them, and consequently will reprobate "your conduct." Thus I was persuaded, or rather compelled, to write to him. For he may be said to act by persuasion, who has the liberty of refusing; but those who can be compelled it is needless to persuade; as they act not by choice, but necessity. There being two roads, it was next debated which should be taken. I proposed one;

with less respect than was perhaps due to the virtue of an enemy. The high office of Nebridius was bestowed on Sallust. *Ibid.*

Nebridius had before been Count of the East, and, from being quæstor to Julian, was made by Constantius præfect of the Gauls, in the room of Florentius, who had been removed to the præfecture of Illyricum. Florentius refused to return from Vienne, dreading the resentment of the army. Nebridius retired in a private station into his native country, Tuscany. Pentadius is mentioned above.

‡ There is some corruption in this passage, for neither were they absent, nor friends to Julian. On the contrary, they adhered to Constantius. PETAU.

The present reading may be supported either by omitting the preceding paragraph, or by putting it (as in the translation) into a parenthesis. "Nebridius, &c." will then refer to the friends before mentioned, of Constantius, as they certainly were.

but they compelled me to adopt * the other; leſt my oppoſition ſhould excite ſome tumult and diſorder in the army; and when a diſturbance was once begun, a general confuſion might enſue. An apprehenſion this, which ſeemed by no means groundleſs. The legions approached. I, as uſual †, went out of the city to meet them, and urged them to purſue their march. They halted one day; till when I was a ſtranger to what they had been concerting. Jupiter, the Sun, Mars, Minerva, and all the Gods know ‡, that I had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of their intentions till the evening of that day, when at ſun-ſet they were diſcloſed to me §. [At midnight] on a ſudden the pa-

* Through Paris. Julian honeſtly and judiciouſly ſuggeſted the danger and temptation of a laſt interview of the ſoldiers with their wives and children. GIBBON.

† Even the Emperors themſelves uſed to meet the legions by way of honour. VALOIS.

‡ Such an oath would be deciſive in the mouth of a Pagan, convinced of his falſe religion even to fanaticiſm and enthuſiaſm, as Julian was, if Julian had not given ſome proofs of duplicity. But when a man is capable of being of two religions at the ſame time, of believing one and profeſſing the other, he may well allow himſelf in perjury. Be that as it may, it muſt be owned, that if that prince moved the ſprings which raiſed him to the ſupreme power, he concealed his play ſo well, as to ſeem to owe all to chance, and nothing to intrigue. LA BLETERIE.

It may ſeem ungenerous to diſtruſt the honour of a hero, and the truth of a philoſopher. The devout Abbé de la Bleterie is almoſt inclined to reſpect the devout proteſtations of a Pagan. GIBBON.

§ He then reſigned himſelf to a ſhort ſlumber; and afterwards related to his friends, that he had ſeen the Genius of the empire waiting with ſome impatience at his door, preſſing for admittance, and reproaching his want of ſpirit and ambition. *Ibid.*

lace

lace * was inveſted, and an univerſal ſhout was raiſed, while in the mean time I was deliberating what meaſures to purſue, but without forming any determination. Though my wife was then living †, I happened to ſleep alone, in an adjoining upper chamber ‡, from which, there being an opening in the wall, I paid my adoration to Jupiter. The clamour increaſing, and a general tumult prevailing throughout the palace, I intreated that God to give

* Moſt probably the palace of the baths (*thermarum*), of which a ſolid and lofty hall ſtill ſubſiſts in the *rue de la Harpe*. The buildings covered a conſiderable ſpace of the modern quarter of the univerſity; and the gardens, under the Merovingian kings, communicated with the abbey of St. Germain des Prez. By the injuries of time and the Normans, this ancient palace was reduced, in the twelfth century, to a maze of ruins, whoſe dark receſſes were the ſcene of licentious love. GIBBON.

Theſe remains, which have all the marks of antiquity, are the greateſt curioſity in Paris. They are incloſed in a houſe, whoſe ſign is the iron croſs. Our kings of the firſt race reſided in that palace. The daughters of Charlemagne were confined there after his death, when Lewis the Debonnair, a friend to full chant, but an enemy to gallantry, had cauſed their lovers to be put to death. "He "thought, without doubt," ſays F. Daniel, with great ſimplicity, "that the example would intimidate, and that "they would have no more. He was, it ſeems, miſtaken; "they were never without them." *Tableau de Paris, ch.* Antiquities.

† Helena died ſoon after, at Vienne, ſays Ammianus, (l. XXI.); others ſay, in the palace of Julian, and was buried near her ſiſter Conſtantina, at Rome.

Her pregnancy had been ſeveral times fruitleſs, and was at laſt fatal to herſelf. GIBBON.

‡ From Mr. King's very ingenious "Obſervations on "Ancient Caſtles," p. 5, &c. we learn, that "the ſtate-"apartments (which Julian, no doubt, then occupied) were

give me a ſign. This he immediately ſhewed me, commanding me firmly to confide in it, and not oppoſe the reſolution of the army *. Though I had received theſe omens, I did not, however, yield without reluctance, but reſiſted as much as poſſible, nor would I admit of the ſalutation, or the diadem. But not being able ſingly to oppoſe ſo many, and the Gods, whoſe will it was, ſtrongly animating them, and at the ſame time, compoſing my ſpirits, at length, about the third hour, ſome ſoldier, I know not whom, giving me a collar †, I put it on, and then re-entered the palace, groaning, as the Gods can witneſs, from the bottom of my heart; for though the confidence which the former ſign had given me in God could not but inſpire

" always in the third ſtory, an habitation both ſtately and " airy, free from the annoyance of the enemy's inſtruments " of war."

The windows alſo of theſe rooms, even in our cold climate, though highly ornamented, " appear to have had " no glaſs, and to have been fenced only with iron bars " and wooden ſhutters, as is known to have been the " uſage in early times." *Sequel to the Obſervations on Ancient Caſtles*, p. 108.

That the Jews, as well as Pagans, prayed " with their " windows open," appears from this paſſage of Daniel, VI. 10. *He went into his houſe, and* his windows being open *in his chamber toward Jeruſalem, he kneeled upon his knees*, &c.

* The conduct, which diſclaims the ordinary maxims of reaſon, excites ſuſpicion, and eludes our enquiry. Whenever the ſpirit of fanaticiſm, at once ſo credulous and ſo crafty, has inſinuated itſelf into a noble mind, it inſenſibly corrodes the vital principles of virtue and veracity.

GIBBON.

† Even in this tumultuous moment, Julian attended to the forms of ſuperſtitious ceremony, and obſtinately refuſed the

inſpire me with fortitude, I was aſhamed and abaſhed at not ſeeming to obey Conſtantius faithfully to the laſt.

A great dejection prevailing in the palace, the friends of Conſtantius endeavoured to improve that opportunity of forming a conſpiracy againſt me, and diſtributed money among the ſoldiers, hoping to alienate ſome of them, ſo at leaſt as to make a diviſion between us, if not to perſuade them openly to attack me. One of the officers who attended my wife in public *, hearing what they were clandeſtinely tranſacting, diſcloſed it to me. But finding that I diſregarded it, with the frenzy of an enthuſiaſt, he loudly exclaimed in the market-place, "Soldiers, foreigners, and natives, do not "betray the Emperor." The minds of the troops being thus inflamed, they all ran armed to the palace. Finding me there alive and unhurt, and rejoicing like friends who meet unexpectedly, they embraced me, claſped me in their arms, and bore me on their ſhoulders. It was indeed a moſt pleaſing ſight, ſeeming like inſpiration. Surrounding me on all ſides, they then inſiſted that every friend of Conſtantius ſhould be put to death. The ſtrenu-

the inauſpicious uſe of a female necklace, or a horſe's collar (*equi phaleræ*), which the impatient ſoldiers would have employed inſtead of a diadem. GIBBON.

The collar which he put on, enriched with jewels, belonged, ſays Ammianus, to "one Maurus, afterwards a "Count, then a ſpearman of the Petulants." This event happened in April, 360.

* Ammianus ſtyles him *aliquis palatii decurio*, a kind of lictor.

ous endeavours that I used to save them, all the Gods know. After this, what was my conduct towards Constantius? In my letters * to him, even to the present hour, I have never assumed the title which the Gods have given me, only styling myself Cæsar; and I prevailed on the soldiers to swear to me, that they would attempt nothing farther, if he would suffer me to dwell peaceably in the Gauls, and ratify all that had been done. Add to this, the legions that were with me sent him an united letter, urging a reconciliation between us. In return, he spirited the Barbarians against us, proclaimed me to them as a public enemy, and bribed them to ravage the Gallic provinces. He wrote also to them who were in Italy, and warned them to guard against those who came from the Gauls. In the towns bordering on the Gallic frontier, he ordered magazines to be formed; in particular, one of six hundred thousand quarters † of flour at Brigantia ‡, and another of as many more at the foot of the Cottian Alps §; that he might be enabled to march an army against me. All these things were not only said but done. For the letters which he sent ‖ to spirit the Barbarians I intercepted, and all

* The Epistle to which Julian principally alludes has been inserted, p. 54.

† Three hundred myriads, or three millions of *medimni*, a corn measure familiar to the Athenians, and which contained six Roman *modii*. GIBBON.

‡ Now Bregentz, on the banks of the Lake of Constance.

§ The mountains that divide Dauphiny from Piedmont.

‖ Meaning the letters which Ammianus mentions in his XXIst book. Yet he expresses himself with cool and candid hesitation, *si famæ soli admittenda est fides.* GIBBON.

the

the proviſions, which he had ordered to be collected, I ſeized, and alſo the letters of Taurus *. Beſides this, he addreſſed me ſtill as Cæſar, and declared, that he would never be reconciled to me. He ſent, however, one Epictetus †, a Gallic biſhop, to aſſure me of my ſafety; and in all his letters he intimates, that he will ſpare my life; but as to my honour, he is ſilent. In regard to his oaths, I think, as the proverb ſays, they ſhould be written in aſhes, ſo little do they deſerve belief. My own honour, not only for the ſake of what is juſt and right, but for that of the ſafety of my friends, I am determined to maintain; not to mention the cruelties exerciſed throughout all the world.

Theſe arguments are to me concluſive; theſe meaſures appear to me juſt; and I adopted them at firſt in the ſight and hearing of the Gods. Afterwards, on the very day in which I was going to

* Præfect of Italy, and Conſul, with Florentius, in 361, when this Epiſtle was written. He was baniſhed by Julian, ſoon after, during his præfecture and conſulſhip, to Vercellæ, in Italy.

† There was a biſhop of that name, a remarkable favourer of the Arian ſect, who, to gratify Conſtantius, uſed great ſeverity towards the Catholics. But he was biſhop of Centum-cellæ [now Civita-Vecchia] in Thuſcia [Tuſcany] not in Gaul. Perhaps Julian wrote Κεντυμκελλων ("of "Centum-cellæ,") inſtead of των Γαλλων ("of the Gauls".) Yet Ammianus relates, that the perſon, who was ſent into the Gauls with theſe orders to Julian, was the quæſtor Leonas. PETAU.

harangue the army concerning our march hither *, ſacrificing for the event, for my own ſafety, and much more for the public welfare, and the general freedom of the world, eſpecially of the Gallic nation, whom he has twice abandoned to her enemies, not ſparing the ſepulchres of their anceſtors, though he pays the utmoſt attention to thoſe of foreigners †, the omens were auſpicious. I thought it therefore neceſſary to reduce our formidable enemies ‡, and to coin lawful money of gold and ſilver; and if even now he ſhould be diſpoſed to treat with me, will be ſatisfied with what I at preſent poſſeſs. But if he ſhould per-

* Illyricum, where this Epiſtle was written.

† The primitive Chriſtians called the temples of the Heathens "ſepulchres," in contempt, becauſe temples began to be built where their Gods were buried. But this the Gentiles afterwards retorted on the Chriſtians, on account of the relics of the martyrs, preſerved and worſhiped in the churches. And hence they ſtyled the Chriſtian churches nothing but ταφες ("tombs.") VALOIS.

‡ After Julian had diſmiſſed Leonas, and ſent a new embaſſy to the Eaſtern court, that he might keep his troops in exerciſe, and preſerve the reputation they had gained, he paſſed the Rhine for the fourth time, ſubdued the Attuarii, a nation of the Franks, who ſtill made incurſions into Gaul; and, repaſſing the Rhine, reviewed and ſtrengthened all the garriſons in the frontier towns, as far as the country of the Rauraci (now the canton of Baſil); from whence he repaired to Beſançon, and then to Vienne, where he kept his winter-quarters. Before the concluſion of the winter, the Germans under king Vadomar, having revolted and pillaged Rhœtia (now the country of the Griſons), he ſeized and baniſhed that prince, and paſſing the Rhine for the fifth and laſt time, ſurpriſed the Barbarians, and forced them to ſwear to a peace, which they never preſumed to violate again during his life.

LA BLETERIE.

fer

fer engaging in a war, and will in no reſpect recede from his former determination, I am ready to do or ſuffer whatever the Gods may decree. It is more diſgraceful to be conquered by ignorance and puſillanimity, than by ſtrength and numbers. If he excells me in numbers, that is owing, not to himſelf, but to his armies. If he had ſurpriſed me ſtill loitering in the Gauls, and tenacious of life, and had ſurrounded me, declining danger, on the flanks and in the rear by the Barbarians, and in front by his own troops, I muſt have ſubmitted, not only to the utmoſt extremity, but, which to the wiſe is the greateſt of evils, to diſgrace *.

Such are the reflections, men of Athens, which I have communicated to my fellow-ſoldiers, and now tranſmit to you and the other cities of Grece †. May the Gods, the Lords of all, afford me the aſſiſtance, which they have promiſed, to the laſt, and grant to Athens, that I may, as much as poſſible, deſerve her favour, and that ſhe may for ever have ſuch Emperors as may intimately

* Julian explains, like a ſoldier and a ſtateſman, the danger of his ſituation, and the neceſſity and advantages of an offenſive war. GIBBON.

† Lacedæmon and Corinth, Zoſimus ſays, were two of the other cities that Julian addreſſed, but all that remains of either, or any, of thoſe Epiſtles, is two ſhort paragraphs of that to the Corinthians, preſerved by Sozomen; in one of which he ſays, "Having reluctantly commenced this "war, but having now, in great meaſure, ſucceeded, "though not yet arrived at the concluſion;" and in the other, he claims their favour, "on account of the friend-"ſhip of his father, who had dwelt among them."

know, and with a distinguished preference esteem, her * !

* The humanity of Julian was preserved from the cruel alternative, which he pathetically laments, of destroying, or of being himself destroyed; and the seasonable death of Constantius delivered the Roman empire from the calamities of civil war. The approach of winter could not detain the monarch at Antioch; and his favourites durst not oppose his impatient desire of revenge. A slight fever, which was perhaps occasioned by the agitation of his spirits, was increased by the fatigues of the journey; and Constantius was obliged to halt at the little town of Mopsucrene, twelve miles beyond Tarsus, where he expired, after a short illness, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his reign. GIBBON.

This event happened on Sept. 3, 361. It is pretended that, upon his death-bed, he named Julian his successor, willing, no doubt, to make a merit of what he could no longer with-hold from him, and by that to engage him to protect Faustina, whom he had married after the death of Eusebia, and whom he left pregnant of a princess [Constantia], who was afterwards married to the Emperor Gratian. Julian immediately hastened towards Constantinople, which he entered, accompanied by the senate, soldiers, and people, on Dec. 11. LA BLETERIE.

AN ALLEGORICAL FABLE *.

A CERTAIN rich man † had numerous flocks and herds, and many horſes ‡, grazing in his meadows. He had alſo many ſhepherds, as well ſlaves as freed-men, and hired ſervants, herdſmen, goat-herds, grooms, with many eſtates, ſome of which were bequeathed to him by his father §; but moſt of them he had acquired, being deſirous to enrich himſelf by right or wrong, and having little regard for the Gods. He had ſeveral wives, by whom he had ſons and daughters ‖, among A. D. 362.

* Julian has worked the crimes and misfortunes of the family of Conſtantine into an allegorical Fable, which is happily conceived and agreeably related. It forms the concluſion of the VIIth Oration. GIBBON.

See a farther account of it in the Preface.

† This rich man is Conſtantine, that eternal object of the hatred and malignity of Julian. LA BLETERIE.

The beginning of this Fable is remarkably ſimilar to that of Nathan's Parable, in 2 Sam. xii. 2. which Julian had read in the Septuagint. Πλουσιῳ ανδρι προβατα ην πολλα, και αγελαι βοων, ſays the Emperor. Τῳ πλουσιῳ ανδρι ην ποιμνια και βουκολια πολλα σφοδρα, ſays the Prophet.

‡ In the original, ἱπποι μυριαι (" many mares.")

§ Conſtantius Chlorus reigned only over the Gauls, Spain, and Great-Britain. Conſtantine, with much good fortune, and perhaps too much addreſs, made himſelf maſter of the whole empire. LA BLETERIE.

‖ Conſtantine left three ſons, between whom he divided the empire. Conſtantine, known in hiſtory by the name of the younger Conſtantine, had the Gauls, Spain, and Great-Britain. Conſtantius had the Eaſt. Conſtans, Italy, Illyricum,

among whom he divided his wealth *, before he died, but without inſtructing them how to manage it, how to acquire more, if it ſhould fail, or, when it was acquired, how to preſerve it. So groſs was

Illyricum, and Africa. We are acquainted only with two daughters of Conſtantine the Great; Conſtantina and Helena. He married the former to Flavius Claudius Hannibalianus, his nephew, ſon of his brother Dalmatius the Cenſor. This princeſs afterwards married the Cæſar Gallus. Helena was married to Julian. It is not at firſt eaſy to conceive how he can ſay, that "the father of the "family divided his eſtate between his ſons and *his daugh-* "*ters*;" as, among the Romans, the daughters were excluded from the empire. But this paſſage of Julian informs us of two things; 1. That if Conſtantine gave his nephew Hannibalianus the title of King, with Armenia the Leſs, Pontus, and Cappadocia, it was on account of his marriage with Conſtantina, on whom, beſides, he conferred the title of Auguſta, and a right to wear the diadem. 2. That if he raiſed Dalmatius, the brother of Hannibalianus, to the dignity of Cæſar, and gave him Thrace, Macedonia, and Achaia, it was becauſe Dalmatius was to eſpouſe Helena, who was then a child. Hannibalianus and Dalmatius were included in the maſſacre which followed the death of Conſtantine. One fault of that able politician, a fault much more real than that with which Julian here reproaches him, is that of having raiſed his brothers and his nephews to ſuch a height as to make them formidable to his children. If he could imagine that he ſhould have authority enough over both to prevent the uſual effects of jealouſy and ambition during his life, ſhould he have flattered himſelf that they would have ſuch reſpect to his memory as to remain within the limits which he had preſcribed them? The greateſt princes ought always to think that they will not reign after their deaths.

LA BLETERIE.

* Whether, after the death of Fauſta, the mother of Conſtantius and his brothers, Conſtantine contracted any other marriage does not appear from the memorials, ſtill remaining, of thoſe times; except that in general Julian here ſays, that "he had many wives," ἐγενοῦτο δὲ αὐτῷ γυναῖκες πολλαὶ, though without naming them. SPANHEIM.

his

his ignorance, that he thought nothing neceſſary but riches; nor in that art had he much experience, having acquired it, not by any fixed principle, but rather by uſe and habit, like empirics, who by practice only cure diſeaſes, and conſequently muſt be ignorant of many. Thus thinking that the number of his ſons would ſufficiently ſecure the continuance of his family, he uſed no endeavour to make them virtuous *.

This was the firſt origin of their diſſenſions. For each of them deſiring, like his father, to have great riches, and ſingly to poſſeſs all, attacked his brother. The calamities occaſioned by their folly and ignorance extended alſo to their neareſt relations, who had had no better education. A general ſlaughter enſued, ſo as to realiſe by divine vengeance the moſt tragical cataſtrophe. They divided their patrimony by the ſword, and every thing was thrown into confuſion. The ſons deſtroyed the temples of their anceſtors, which before indeed had been deſpiſed by their father, and ſtripped of their offerings, dedicated by many, but chiefly by his forefathers. But when they deſtroyed the temples, they repaired the old and erected new ſepulchres †, as if they had foreſeen, that for their

* Julian, in his firſt panegyric on Conſtantius, ſays, that the children of Conſtantine had the moſt excellent education that could be given to princes. He then perhaps flattered. Now perhaps he ſlanders. LA BLETERIE.

† By "ſepulchres" he muſt mean churches. So they were called by the Pagans, becauſe they were built over the tombs of the martyrs *Ibid.* See p. 102, note †.

contempt of the Gods they would ere long want many ſepulchres themſelves.

Amidſt theſe diſorders, marriages alſo being contracted which were no marriages *, and the laws both of Gods and men being thus alike infringed, Jupiter was moved with compaſſion, and addreſſing himſelf to the Sun †, he ſaid to him,

* Conſtantius firſt married the daughter of Julius Conſtantius, his uncle. Though hiſtory does not inform us who were the wives of Conſtantine the younger and Conſtans, it may be preſumed that they alſo married their couſin-germans. Such marriages were not forbidden among the Romans till Theodoſius, whoſe law was afterwards repealed by Juſtinian. However, even before the prohibition of Theodoſius, they were unuſual, becauſe they were odious. It was thought that they bordered upon inceſt. This we learn from St. Auguſtine, *de civitate Dei, l.* xv. *c.* 16. *Raro per mores fiebat quod fieri per leges licebat. . . Factum etiam licitum propter vicinitatem horrebatur illiciti ; et quod fiebat cum conſobrinâ penè cum ſorore fieri videbatur, quia et ipſi inter ſe propter tam propinquam conſanguinitatem fratres vocantur, et pene germani ſunt.* Allowing this, it will be eaſy to conceive how a paſſionate enemy, like Julian, may ſo ſeverely reprobate the marriages of the children of Conſtantine. This key, I think, may ſerve for want of better hiſtorical light. LA BLETERIE.

Julian, whoſe mind was biaſſed by ſuperſtition and reſentment, ſtigmatiſes theſe unnatural alliances between his own couſins with the opprobrious name of γαμων τε ου γαμων. The juriſprudence of the canons has ſince revived and enforced this prohibition, without being able to introduce it either into the civil or the common law of Europe. GIBBON.

One of theſe "no marriages" was that of Julian himſelf with his couſin Helena. Another, that of Gallus and Conſtantina.

† After what has been ſaid before, it is needleſs here to obſerve, that Julian means by the Sun that intelligence produced from all eternity by the ſupreme God, &c. in a word, the Logos of Plato. LA BLETERIE.

"Of

" Of all the Gods my moſt ancient off-ſpring,
" being born before heaven and earth, doſt thou
" ſtill retain the memory of the inſults thou haſt
" received from that diſdainful and arrogant man,
" who, by forſaking thee *, entailed ſo many
" calamities on himſelf, his family, and his children?
" Though you have not perſonally wreaked your
" vengeance on him, nor have launched your ar-
" rows againſt his children, are you leſs the author
" of that deſtruction which has deſolated his
" family? But let us ſummon the Fates, and en-
" quire of them whether any aſſiſtance can be
" given it."

The Fates inſtantly attended; but the Sun, as if abſorbed in contemplation, continued to fix his eyes on Jupiter. The eldeſt of the Fates thus replied: ' Juſtice and Sanctity, O Father, forbid ' it. But it depends on yourſelf, ſince you have ' ordered us to be ſubſervient to them, to prevail ' on them alſo.' " True," anſwered Jupiter, " they are my daughters, and therefore I may " interrogate them.—Venerable Goddeſſes, what " do you adviſe?" ' That, Father,' they replied, ' is as you direct; but be careful leſt that worſt

* The devotion of Conſtantine was peculiarly directed to the Genius of the Sun, the Apollo of Greek and Roman mythology; and he was pleaſed to be repreſented with the ſymbols of the God of light and poetry. GIBBON.

Among the many coins of this Emperor, found at Reculver, in Kent (the Roman Regulbium), ſome have, on their reverſe, the figure of Apollo, with a ſtar, and *Soli invicto comiti*. This device would have ſerved equally well for Julian.

' of

'of all crimes, a zeal for impiety, ſhould univer-
'ſally prevail in the world.' "To that," ſaid Jupiter, "I will certainly attend." The Fates then approached, and ſpun as the Father directed. Afterwards Jupiter thus addreſſed the Sun: "You "ſee this infant *, the nephew of that rich man, "and the couſin of his heirs. Though deſtitute "and deſpiſed, he is your off-ſpring. Swear, "therefore, to me, by my ſceptre and your own, "that you will take eſpecial care of him, that you "will be his guide, and ſecure him from evil. "You ſee he is enveloped, as it were, with ſmoke, "and filth, and darkneſs, and that the flame which "you have kindled in him is in danger of being "ſtifled:

"And owns no help but from thy ſaving hands †.
"Take him therefore, and ſuperintend his edu-"cation. This I and the Fates allow." At this the Sun much rejoiced, and was pleaſed with the child, perceiving in him a ſmall ſpark of himſelf ſtill remaining. From that time he educated the boy, withdrawing him

Far from alarms, and duſt and blood ‡.

But Jupiter ordered the motherleſs and chaſte Minerva to have a ſhare alſo in his education.

Thus inſtructed, when the youth had attained that age,

* Julian himſelf.

† Iliad IX. 231. Pope, 304. Part of the ſpeech of Ulyſſes to Achilles, requeſting him to aſſiſt the Greeks.

‡ Iliad XI. 164. Pope, 216. applied to Hector, when protected by Jupiter and Fate.

When

When ſprings the down, when youth has all its charms *,

Being appriſed of the numerous calamities which had befallen his relations and couſins, he was ſo terrified, that he would have ruſhed headlong into Tartarus, had he not been prevented by the benevolent Sun and provident Minerva †, who threw him into a ſlumber, which baniſhed that idea. Awaking from this, he returned to his ſolitude, and there, ſitting on a ſtone, he conſidered with himſelf how he ſhould eſcape ſuch a variety of evils; for now every thing appeared adverſe, and he was abandoned even by hope.

Mercury then, who had an affection for him, aſſuming the appearance of one of his young companions, thus kindly accoſted him: "Follow "me, and I will ſhew you a ſmoother and eaſier "way, as ſoon as you have gone through this "winding and rugged path, which obliges, as "you ſee, all who enter it to turn back." The

* Iliad XXIV. 348.

† In the original, τῆς Προνοίας Ἀθηνᾶς. In his IVth Oration, Julian conſiders Pronœa as another name for Minerva. After the example of Plato, whoſe philoſophy he adopted, Julian, like other Heathens, acknowledged God's Providence. Not to mention his maſter Jamblichus (*de Myſter. l. 1. c. 9.*) "the Providence of God" is mentioned by Euripides, in his Oreſtes, ver. 1181. On ſome excellent coins of Commodus it appears under the ſymbol of a woman extending her right hand, and holding a ſpear in her left, or before an altar, with another figure of a man ſtanding, and on each ſide a tree, with the inſcription ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ. And on the Roman coins is ſometimes ſeen a temple, and ſometimes a radiated figure of the ſun, with PROVIDENTIA inſcribed, &c. SPANHEIM.

youth

youth then proceeded cautiously, with his sword, his shield, and spear, but with his head unarmed. Relying on his guide, he came to a road, though unfrequented, highly pleasant, and embroidered with fruit-trees and flowers innumerable, such as are pleasing to the Gods, and also with ivy, laurel, and myrtle.

When they arrived at the foot of a high mountain, "On the summit of that," said Mercury, "dwells the Father of the Gods; be careful "therefore, for great is your danger, to worship "him in the most religious manner. Ask of him "whatever you please. You will wish, my child, "for what is best." So saying, Mercury disappeared, though the youth was very desirous of being informed by him what petition he should prefer to the Father of the Gods. Thus deserted, he could only advise with himself, and he could not have been advised better. "Though I do not "yet see," said he, "the Father of the Gods, "let me solicit him for his best gifts. O Father "Jupiter, or by whatever other name thou pleasest "to be called, for that to me is indifferent, teach "me the way that leads to thee. For the region "of thy residence is incomparably beautiful, if I "may judge of its excellence by the pleasantness "of the path through which I have been con-"ducted hither." After having thus prayed, he fell fast asleep. During this slumber, or trance, Jupiter shewed him the Sun in person. Astonished at this sight, the youth exclaimed, "For this and

" all thy other favours, O Father of the Gods, I " offer and dedicate myſelf to thee." Then embracing the knees of the Sun, he intreated his protection. But he, calling Minerva, bade her firſt obſerve what arms he had brought. Seeing only a ſword, a ſhield, and a ſpear, " Where, my " ſon," ſaid ſhe, " are your ægis and helmet?" He anſwered, " I could ſcarce provide even theſe; " neglected and deſpiſed, I had no friend in the " family of my relations." " What then," replied the Sun, " will you ſay, when I tell you, " that you muſt neceſſarily return to it?" Hearing this, the youth intreated him, with many tears, not to ſend him thither again, as, in that caſe, he ſhould never ſee him more, but ſhould certainly periſh there, overwhelmed with misfortunes. " You " are young," ſaid the Sun, " and have not yet been " initiated. Return therefore to earth, and when you " are initiated *, dwell in ſafety; return and pu-

" rify

* By the hands of Maximus [See the firſt note on Epiſtle XV.] Julian was ſecretly initiated at Epheſus, in the twentieth year of his age. His reſidence at Athens confirmed this unnatural alliance of philoſophy and ſuperſtition. He obtained the privilege of a ſolemn initiation into the myſteries of Eleuſis, which, amidſt the general decay of the Grecian worſhip, ſtill retained ſome veſtiges of their primæval ſanctity; and ſuch was the zeal of Julian, that he afterwards invited the Eleuſinian pontiff to the court of Gaul, for the ſole purpoſe of conſummating, by myſtic rites and ſacrifices, the great work of his ſanctification. As theſe ceremonies were performed in the depth of caverns, and in the ſilence of the night; and as the inviolable ſecret of the myſteries was preſerved by the diſcretion of the initiated; I ſhall not preſume to deſcribe the horrid ſounds, and fiery apparitions,

" rify yourſelf from all impiety. You muſt " then invoke me, and Minerva, and the other " Gods."

The youth, at theſe words, remained ſilent. The Sun then conducting him to a mountain, (whoſe ſummit ſhone with light, but whoſe lower parts were covered with thick darkneſs, through which, however, as through a miſt, the rays of the Sun appeared dim and faint), thus addreſſed him: ' You ſee your couſin the heir *: Do you ſee ' alſo thoſe herdſmen and ſhepherds?' He replied in the affirmative. ' How is he,' ſaid the Sun, ' and how are his ſhepherds and herdſmen, em- ' ployed?' " He," ſaid the youth, " ſeems to me " aſleep; he lives in retirement, and devotes him- " ſelf to pleaſure. Few of his ſhepherds are well- " diſpoſed; moſt of them are wicked and cruel; " for they either devour or ſell his ſheep, and thus " doubly injure their maſter; they ruin his flocks, " and, though they receive much and return him " but little, they complain that they are defrauded " of their wages; but it were better that they " ſhould be paid the whole, than the ſheep be " deſtroyed." ' But ſuppoſe,' ſaid the Sun, ' I ' and Minerva, by the command of Jupiter, ' ſhould appoint you guardian of all theſe flocks, ' in the room of this heir?' This the youth again

apparitions, which were preſented to the ſenſes, or the imagination, of the credulous aſpirant, till the viſions of comfort and knowledge broke upon him in a blaze of celeſtial light. GIBBON.

* Conſtantius.

oppoſed,

oppoſed, and earneſtly intreated to remain there. The Sun replied, " Be not obſtinately diſobedient, " leſt my hatred ſhould be equal to the love that " I have borne you." The youth then anſwered, ' O moſt excellent Sun and Minerva, and thee ' too I atteſt, O Father Jupiter, diſpoſe of me ' abſolutely as you pleaſe.' After this, Mercury, again appearing, inſpired him with additional courage. For now he thought he had found a guide in his return, and during the time that he was to paſs on earth.

Minerva then thus accoſted him: " Good ſon " of this excellent and divine father and of me, " attend! The beſt ſhepherds, you obſerve, do " not pleaſe this heir; but profligates and flatterers " have enſlaved him. Conſequently he is not " beloved by the good and virtuous, and by thoſe " who ſeem his friends he is injured and diſ- " honoured. Be careful therefore, when you re- " turn, never to prefer a flatterer to a friend. " Take another advice, my ſon. That man ſleeps, " and of courſe is often deceived; but be you " ſober and vigilant *. A flatterer often aſſumes " the confidence of a friend; juſt as if a ſmith, " covered with ſmoke and aſhes, ſhould, by a " painted face and a white garment, induce you to

* Συ δε νηφε, και γρηγορει.

The ſame words as thoſe of the Apoſtle, Νηψαλε, γρηγορησαλε, 1 Pet. v. 8.

This is not the firſt paſſage in which we have ſeen our author availing himſelf of his Chriſtian erudition.

" give him one of your daughters in marriage.
" Thirdly, let me exhort you to have a particular
" regard to yourself. Respect us in the first place;
" among men, those who resemble us most, and
" no one besides. You see how much this poor
" wretch has suffered from a false shame and a
" foolish timidity."

To this the Sun added, ' Those whom you select
' for your friends treat as friends, not as servants
' and domestics. Behave to them with freedom,
' candour, and generosity, not thinking of them
' one thing, and saying another. What was so
' destructive to this young heir as unfaithfulness
' to his friends? Love your subjects, as you are
' loved by us. Whatever relates to our worship
' prefer to all other virtues. For we are your
' benefactors, and friends, and preservers.'

Delighted at these words, the youth clearly shewed his desire to obey the Gods implicitly in all things. " Depart now," said the Sun, " with
" joyful hopes, for I, and Minerva, and Mer-
" cury will every where be with you, and also
" all the Gods who dwell on Olympus, or in the
" air, or on earth, and all the other deities; so
" you shall be pious to us, faithful to your friends,
" and humane to your subjects, teaching them to
" excell by your example, and never being en-
" slaved by their passions or your own. Retain
" the armour that you brought hither, and receive
" from me this torch, which will afford you such
" light on earth, that you will not need that of
" heaven.

" heaven. Accept alſo from good Minerva an " ægis and a helmet, for ſhe has many, as you " ſee, which ſhe beſtows on whom ſhe pleaſes. " Mercury, beſides, will give you a golden wand. " Depart therefore, relying on this armour, and " traverſe earth and ſea, inviolably obeying our " laws. Let neither man, nor woman, your " own countrymen, nor foreigners, perſuade you " to neglect our precepts. While you obſerve " them, you will be loved and eſteemed by us, " and alſo reſpected by our good ſervants, and " formidable both to wicked men and evil dæ- " mons *. Know that you were inveſted with a " mortal body in order to diſcharge theſe duties. " For the ſake of your anceſtors, we wiſh to " purify your family from every ſtain. Remember, " therefore, that your ſoul is immortal, and ſprung " from us; and that, if you follow us, you will be " a God, and with us will behold our Father."

Whether this be a fable, or a true narrative, I cannot tell †.

* It is well known that the Platoniſts admitted of good and evil Genii, and that they included both under the name of dæmons. LA BLETERIE.

† Thus St. Paul, *Whether in the body, or out of the body, I cannot tell; God knoweth.* 2 Cor. xii. 3.

The Duties of a Priest.

Extracted from the Fragment of an Oration, or Epistle *.

A. D. 362 or 3. ***IF any are detected misbehaving to their prince, they are immediately punished; but those who refuse to approach the Gods, are possessed by a tribe of evil dæmons, who, driving many

* This Fragment was interwoven with the Epistle to Themistius, as has been observed in the notes on that Epistle. We have therefore published it separately. It is part of an epistle which Julian wrote to some High Priest, teaching him the example which he ought to set to those of his own order both at home and abroad. And there are many things in this Fragment which he wishes his people to practise in imitation of the Christians. Petau.

Mr. Gibbon styles this "a long and curious Fragment "without beginning or end;" and adds, "The Supreme "Pontiff derides the Mosaic history, and the Christian "discipline; prefers the Greek poets to the Jewish pro-"phets; and palliates, with the skill of a Jesuit, the *re-"lative* worship of images."

A more full account of it has been given in the Preface by the Abbé de la Bleterie, whose reasons for not translating the whole I deem conclusive. But, omitting the offensive parts, the extracts which I have selected shew the great use which Julian made of that *sound form of doctrine which was once delivered to* him by transplanting into his own religious code, but without acknowledgment, many of the moral

many of the atheiſts * to diſtraction, make them think death deſirable †, that they may fly up into heaven, after having forcibly diſlodged their ſouls. Some of them prefer deſerts to towns; but, man being by nature a gentle and ſocial animal, they alſo are abandoned to evil dæmons, who urge them to this miſanthropy; and many of them have had recourſe to chains and collars ‡. Thus, on all ſides, they are impelled by an evil dæmon, to whom they have voluntarily ſurrendered themſelves by forſaking the immortal and tutelar Gods. But enough of theſe. I now return to the ſubject from which I have digreſſed.

The practice of virtue, in obedience to the laws of their country, ſhould certainly be enforced by the governors of ſtates; but it is alſo your duty to exhort the people by no means to

moral precepts of the goſpel, particularly that *new commandment*, *Love your enemies*, *do good to them that hate you*, &c. And, on the whole, if great part of the charge (as it may be called) which he here delivers to his Pagan prieſthood, was obſerved by our Chriſtian clergy, they would be more reſpectable, and more reſpected, than they are.

* The uſual elogium of the Chriſtians with this apoſtate. SPANHEIM.

† Julian ſeems here to allude to the religious frenzy, the horror of life, and the deſire of martyrdom, which poſſeſſed the enthuſiaſtic Donatiſts.

‡ The ſolitary fanatics, whoſe iron chains, &c. the philoſopher here ridicules, were the monks and hermits who had introduced into Cappadocia the voluntary hardſhips of the aſcetic life. See Tillemont, *Mem. Eccleſ. tom.* ix. p. 661, 662. GIBBON.

Theſe ſolitary aſcetics then abounded in Ægypt, Paleſtine, and Meſopotamia, as is evident from other remains of that age. SPANHEIM.

tranſgreſs the ſacred laws of the Gods. The office of a prieſt being neceſſarily more reſpectable than that of any other citizen, it may be proper for me now to conſider that, and to teach you its obligations. Some perhaps may be better informed: I wiſh I could ſay all; but I hope it of thoſe who are naturally temperate and virtuous. Such will own this diſcourſe to be adapted to them.

In the firſt place, above all things cultivate philanthropy; as this is attended by many other bleſſings, and particularly by that, which is the greateſt and moſt excellent of all, the favour of the Gods. For as thoſe who kindly participate in the concerns of their maſters, in their friendſhips, their ſtudies, and amours, are more beloved than their fellow-ſervants; ſo it muſt be ſuppoſed that the Divine Being, who, by his nature, is a lover of mankind *, is delighted with thoſe who love each other. Of philanthropy there are various kinds; one is the puniſhing offenders ſparingly, and that for the good of the puniſhed, as maſters correct their ſcholars; another is the relieving the wants of the poor, as the Gods relieve ours. Obſerve the many bleſſings with which they ſupply us from the earth; food eſpecially, of every kind, and that more in quantity than they have afforded to all other animals united. As we are born naked, they cloath us with the hair of beaſts, and with ſuch raiment alſo as is furniſhed

* Φιλανθρωπον. Φιλανθρωπια, in like manner, is aſcribed to God by St. Paul (Tit. iii. 4.), from whom Julian probably borrowed it.

by the earth and trees. And not contented merely with rudeneſs and ſimplicity, with ſuch coats, as, Moſes ſays, they made of ſkins *; conſider alſo how many gifts we enjoy of induſtrious Minerva. What other animal is indulged with wine? what other with oil? unleſs we impart to them what we refuſe to men. What fiſhes feed on corn? or what beaſts on marine productions? I do not mention gold, braſs, and iron, with all which the Gods have enriched us; not to incur their reſentment by overlooking the vagrant poor, eſpecially when any of them are in morals irreproachable, but, having inherited nothing from their parents, are reduced to poverty by a nobleneſs of mind which deſpiſes wealth. On ſeeing theſe, the generality of mankind are apt to arraign the Gods. Indigence, however, is by no means chargeable to the Gods, but to the inſatiable avarice of us who are rich, to which are owing the falſe ideas which men form of the Gods, and the calumnies with which they reproach them. Do we deſire that God would rain down gold on the poor, as he did formerly on the Rhodians †? Were this to be granted, immediately ſending out our ſervants, and every where placing veſſels, we ſhould drive away all

* Gen. iii. 21.—*the Lord God made coats of ſkins, and clothed them.*

† Jupiter is ſaid to have rained gold on the Rhodians at the time when Vulcan, cleaving his ſkull with a hatchet, delivered him of Minerva. See Pindar. Olymp. VII. and Homer. Il. II. 670.

With joy they ſaw the growing empire riſe,
And ſhowers of wealth deſcending from the ſkies.
POPE 813.

others,

others, that we alone might snatch the common blessings of the Gods. Some perhaps may wonder at our wishing for what cannot possibly happen, and would be utterly useless; since what is absolutely in our power we do not practise. Who was ever impoverished by what he gave to others? I, for my part, as often as I have been liberal to the poor, have in return been abundantly rewarded by the Gods; though I have never been a vile hoarder, nor have I ever repented of my generosity. I say nothing of the present time (as it would be absurd to compare private generosity with Imperial munificence), but, when I was a subject *, I remember that this often happened †. Thus when the estate of my grandmother ‡, which had been forcibly with-held, at length devolved to me entire; of the little which I then had I expended and bestowed on the poor. We ought therefore of our abundance to be communicative to all men, but especially to the virtuous; and to

* Consequently, while he yet frequented the churches of the Christians. SPANHEIM.

† This had of old been divinely said by another, the wisest of princes: *He that hath pity upon the poor*, (or, which is the same thing, *who giveth to the poor*), *lendeth unto the Lord, and that which he hath given, will he pay him again. Prov.* xix. 17. And in another place, *The liberal soul shall be made fat; and he that watereth, shall be watered also himself* xi. 25. *Ibid.*

‡ The name of Julian's maternal grand-mother is unknown. She espoused Anicius Julianus, who was a præfect, and from this marriage sprung Basilina (the mother of Julian), and the famous Count Julian. LA BLETERIE. See Epistle xlvi.

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the indigent, as far as will relieve their neceſſities. I will add, though it may ſeem paradoxical, that it is a duty to give cloathing and food to our enemies *; for we give it to their nature, and not to their conduct. And, therefore, I think that thoſe who are impriſoned in dungeons, are alſo worthy of this attention, as ſuch humanity by no means interferes with juſtice. For as many are impriſoned for trial, of whom ſome are to be condemned, and others acquitted, it would be much too ſevere to refuſe compaſſion even to the guilty for the ſake of the innocent, and rather to treat the innocent with cruelty and inhumanity on account of the guilty. The more I conſider this, the more unjuſt I think it. We ſtyle Jupiter the Hoſpitable, yet we ourſelves are more inhoſpitable than the Scythians. How, or with what conſcience, can one, who would ſacrifice to Jupiter the Hoſpitable, approach his ſhrine, when he forgets, that

By Jove the ſtranger and the poor are ſent,
And what to thoſe we give, to Jove is lent †?

* Can there be a doubt of the fountain from which Julian drew this living water, ſo different from the muddy ſtreams of his favourite philoſophers? *If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirſt, give him drink. Rom.* xii. 20. *Inaſmuch as ye have done it unto one of the leaſt of theſe my brethren, ye have done it unto me. Matth.* xxv. 40.

† Odyſſ. VI. 207. Broome 247. Part of the ſpeech of Nauſicaa to Ulyſſes on finding him ſhipwrecked on Phæacia. The ſame lines occur again in Odyſs. xiv. 56. and are alſo quoted by Julian in Epiſtle xlix. They are there differently tranſlated by Pope. Thus alſo Odyſſ. ix. 270.

—— the Gods revere;
The poor and ſtranger are their conſtant care. POPE 301.

And

And how can a worſhipper of ſocial Jupiter, if he ſees any one in diſtreſs, and does not give him part of a drachm, think that he worſhips Jupiter as he ought? When I reflect on theſe things, I am quite aſtoniſhed, ſeeing the ſurnames of the Gods, coeval with the world, conſidered as ſo many painted images, but in fact by no means treated by us as ſuch. The Gods are ſtyled by us Houſhold Gods, and Jupiter the Domeſtic Deity; but we behave to our relations as if they were ſtrangers. For man is related, with or without his conſent, to every other man; whether, as is ſaid by ſome, we all proceed from one man and one woman; or whether the Gods produced not one man and one woman only, but many at once, in great numbers, together with the world. For they who could create one man and one woman, were alſo able to create many, and in the ſame manner that they produced them, they might alſo produce theſe. Conſider not only the variety of cuſtoms and of laws, but, which is more important, more excellent, and more prevalent, that tradition of the Gods which has been tranſmitted to us by the moſt ancient miniſters in things ſacred; namely, that, when Jupiter formed the world, ſome drops of ſacred blood were ſpilled on the earth, from which ſprung mankind. Thus we are all relations; ſince from one man and one woman, or from two perſons, many men and women have ſprung, as the Gods declare, and we muſt neceſſarily believe on the teſtimony of the facts themſelves,

ſelves, as we all derive our origin from the Gods. That many men were produced at once is teſtified by facts, but will be more clearly ſhewn in another place. * * * * *.

It is proper alſo to obſerve, as has been ſaid by thoſe who have preceded us, that man is by nature a ſocial animal. Shall we then, who deliver and eſtabliſh theſe maxims, act unſocially towards our neighbours? Urged by ſuch cuſtoms and inclinations, let every one of us diſcharge the duties of piety towards the Gods, of benevolence towards men, of chaſtity in regard to the body, and all the offices of religion. Let us endeavour always to retain in our minds ſome religious idea of the Gods, and viewing their temples and images with honour and veneration, let us revere them as much as if we ſaw the Gods themſelves there preſent. For the images, and altars, the cuſtody of the ſacred fire, and all other things of that kind, were eſtabliſhed by our anceſtors as ſymbols of the preſence of the Gods; not that we ſuppoſe them to be Gods, but that we may worſhip the Gods by them *. . . . .

Beſides the images of the Gods, their temples, their ſhrines, and their altars are to be reverenced. It is alſo reaſonable that the prieſts ſhould be honoured, as the miniſters and ſervants of the

* This plea in defence of image-worſhip has been ſince adopted, as is well known, by the Romiſh Church. Other arguments equally futile and jeſuitical follow. But the above may ſuffice.

Gods,

Gods, who dispense to us what relates to them, and contribute much towards procuring us their favours. For they celebrate sacrifices, and offer up prayers, for all. And therefore it is just to pay them not less but rather more honour than to the civil magistrates. But if any one should think that the civil magistrates are entitled to equal honour, as they discharge a kind of priestly function, by being guardians of the laws; yet no less respect is due to the others. The Greeks advised their king to reverence a priest *, though an enemy; and shall we not reverence those who are our friends, and who pray and sacrifice for us?

As my discourse has returned to the point from which it digressed, it is proper for me now to explain how a priest ought to act in order to be justly esteemed. As to what relates to ourselves, that need not here be discussed or examined.

As long as a priest retains his rank, he should be honoured and respected; when he is wicked, let him be degraded from the priesthood, and when he is unworthy, despised. But as long as he sacrifices, and makes libations, and attends on the Gods, we should behold him, as we do their most valuable possessions, with regard and veneration. For it is absurd to love the stones of which altars are formed, on account of their being consecrated to the Gods, and because they are of such a shape

* Hom. Il. I. 23. Speaking of Chryses. Αιδεσθαι θ' ιερηα, &c. The priest to reverence, &c.

and

and figure as are suitable to the holy office for which they are intended; and not to think a man, who is dedicated to the Gods, worthy of honour. Some perhaps may think that the same honour is also due to one who acts unjustly, and is guilty of many transgressions in his holy office. Such a one, I say, should be censured, lest by his wickedness he should offend the Gods; but till he has been censured, let him not be despised. Nor is it reasonable, having this opportunity, to deny not such only, but those who deserve it, the honour that is their due. Like a magistrate, therefore, let every priest be respected, as this is the oracle of the Didymæan God *:

They whom depravity and folly lead
To scorn the priests of heaven's immortal powers,
And to the wise intentions of the Gods
Their own vain thoughts contemptuously oppose,
In safety live not half their days, condemn'd
To perish by th' eternal Gods, who deem
Their servants honour sacred as their own †.

And again, in another place, the God says,

For all my servants by destructive vice, &c.

and declares, that for that he will inflict punishments upon them. As there are many such sayings

* Didymæan Apollo. This title was given to Apollo, or the Sun, by reason of his own light, and that which he communicates to the Moon. Macrob. Sat. I. 17.

Others derive the name from a temple and oracle of Apollo at Didyma in Miletus. See Strabo, *Geog.* l. XIV. Pliny, and Lucian *de Astrologiâ*.

† Julian quotes this oracle again in his LXIId Epistle.

of

of the God, which may inſtruct us how much we ought to honour and venerate the prieſthood, I will diſcuſs them more fully on ſome other occaſion. It may be ſufficient at preſent, as I would ſay nothing inconſiderately, to quote this prophecy and mandate of the God in his own words. If any one therefore thinks me in theſe matters an inſtructor worthy of credit, let him revere and obey the God, and pay diſtinguiſhed honour to the prieſts.

What a prieſt ought to be, I will now endeavour to explain; not on your account (for had I not been firmly perſuaded, not only by the teſtimony of our chief *, but by that of the ſupreme Gods, that you would ably diſcharge this office, as far as your will and inclination are concerned, I ſhould not have ventured to entruſt to you a work of ſuch importance) but that you may inſtruct others in your neighbourhood, both in town and country, by ſtronger arguments, and with ſuperior authority, as not being merely your private ſentiments, or your own practice only, but as being alſo my opinion, who, in what relates to the Gods, ſeem to be Supreme Pontiff †, and though by no means worthy

* Καθηγεμονος. Probably Maximus, the perverter of Julian to Paganiſm (ſee p. 113. note *) whom, writing to another prieſt (Epiſtle LXIII.) he calls by the ſame name, "Κοινος καθηγεμων, their common maſter;" and on whoſe advice, in theſe eccleſiaſtical arrangements, it appears that he chiefly relied.

† It is remarkable, that Julian here does not expreſsly ſtyle himſelf Sovereign Pontiff, but that "he ſeemed to be" ſo, δοκειν εινα, though Conſtantine and the ſucceeding Emperors

worthy of so high an office, yet study to be so, and for that purpose constantly supplicate the Gods. Be assured, that they have given us great hopes after death, and on them we may with confidence * rely, as they are incapable of deceiving, not only in such matters, but in any of the concerns of human life. If, by their excellent power, they can correct all the disturbances and monstrous abuses that happen in this life, how much more in the other (where the contending parts are disunited, the immortal soul being separated, and the body dead), will they be able to perform all the promises that they have made to mankind? Knowing therefore that the Gods have assigned to their priests great rewards, let us make those whose lives are conformable to their examples, which ought to speak to the vulgar, sponsors in every thing for their dignity. This we must begin with piety towards the Gods. Thus it becomes us to minister to them as supposing them present and seeing us (though we see not them), and, with a sight superior to every kind of splendor, pene-

perors (as has been observed by Spanheim, from ancient marbles, coins, &c. *Obs. ad Jul. Orat.* I. p. 278.) retained this dignity till the reign of Gratian.

Neither was Gallienus, as Spanheim asserts, nor Claudius, as others, the last on whose coins the titles of Pontifex Maximus, and the tribunitial power, are recorded. CLARKE.

* This is not so much a Chaldæan, or an Hermetic, or even a Platonic, as a Christian confidence. SPANHEIM.

trating our most secret thoughts *. That this is not my sentiment, but that of God, expressed in several passages, it may be sufficient to shew by one instance, which will establish these two points, that the Gods see all things, and that they delight in the pious:

Nothing escapes the wide-extended beam
Of Phœbus; solid rocks it penetrates,
And seas cœrulean; nor the starry host
Eludes it, through the firmament, untir'd,
Revolving, by necessity's wise law;
Nor all the nations of the dead, beneath
Immers'd by Tartarus in shades of night.
But not high Heaven delights me more than goodness.

Therefore as every soul, especially the human †, is more nearly connected with and allied to the Gods than stones or rocks, it is probable that the eyes of the Gods can penetrate them with much more ease and efficacy. Observe too the philanthropy of God, in saying, that he is "as much "delighted with the thoughts of religious men, "as with the purity of Olympus." Will he not therefore raise the souls of us all, who piously approach him, from darkness and from Tartarus?

* Thus the Psalmist, *Thou understandest my thought afar off. Thou art acquainted with all my ways*, &c. Ps. cxxxix. 2, 3.

† By this distinction, or preference, Julian seems to suppose that beasts also have souls, as he must allude to some beings inferior to the human.

For

For he knows even thoſe who are confined in Tartarus, that not being exempted from the divine power. But to the pious, inſtead of Tartarus, he promiſes Olympus *.

Above all, therefore, it is indiſpenſibly neceſſary for the prieſts to be active in works of piety, that they may approach the Gods with religious awe †, and not ſay or hear any thing that is ſhameful. For prieſts ought not only to abſtain from all impure and immodeſt practices, but alſo from all ſuch words and ſights. Far, therefore, from us be all licentious jeſts, and all ſcurrilous diſcourſe ‡. That you may more clearly underſtand my meaning, let no prieſt read Archilochus ||, nor

* It is curious to hear a heathen philoſopher thus inculcating the immortality, or future exiſtence, of the ſoul, the reſurrection, &c. But, as the woman of Samaria ſaid to our Lord, *the well is deep*; and Julian, like her, *had nothing to draw with* but what he borrowed from Chriſtianity. Where, for inſtance, did he learn, that "the pious are "promiſed Olympus?" Virgil, improving on Homer, ſpeaks only of Elyſian fields, or pleaſant earthly manſions, *locos lætos, et amœna vireta*, &c. in which ſages and heroes were placed after death. But that the juſt ſhall be *caught up into heaven*, or are promiſed Olympus, that where God himſelf is, *there they ſhall be alſo, was brought to light by the goſpel*

† Thus the Pſalmiſt, *Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling*. Pſalm ii. 11.

‡ Thus St. Paul, *Neither filthineſs, nor fooliſh talking, nor jeſting, which are not convenient*, &c. Eph. v. 4.

|| Julian characteriſes the poetry of Archilochus in his viith oration. He was the firſt inventor of Iambics.

Archilochum proprio rabies armavit Iambo,

—— —— Archilochus by rage
Was with his own Iambic arm'd,

as Horace expreſſes it, in which he wrote ſo ſeverely againſt

nor Hipponax *, nor any other writer of that class: let him also avoid every thing that has the same tendency in the old Comedy †. Much preferable and more suitable to us is the study of philosophy

Lycambes, who had promised him his daughter in marriage, but gave her to another, that he hanged himself. His poems are now lost.

* A witty poet of Ephesus, whose Iambics are said to have had the same tragical effect as those of Archilochus. They are also lost.

How little Julian observed this rule himself will be evident to any one from several of his works, in which he more than once alludes to the sayings both of Archilochus and the old comic poets, but particularly from the Cæsars and the Misopogon, which are not only seasoned with sarcasms and jokes, but also abound with scoffs more cutting and severe than any of the Iambics of Archilochus or Hipponax. So that what Cyril said, in his books against him, was not undeserved, that "he studiously covets the reputa-"tion of great and various erudition." SPANHEIM.

† The old Comedy was so called on account of the alterations that happened afterwards, and which occasioned three sorts of comedy; the old, the middle, and the new. The old, in which there was nothing fictitious, either in the subject, or in the names of the actors: The middle, where the subjects were not fictitious; they were true histories, but the names were invented: And the new, in which every thing was feigned; the poets invented not only the subjects, but also the names. Eupolis, Cratinus, and Aristophanes, [all mentioned by Horace, l. 1. sat. 4. 1.] are the three greatest poets of the old comedy, and were contemporary, about 400 years before our Saviour. The liberty which they took of naming notorious offenders, such as Cleon, Hyperbolus, Cleophantes, &c. they often abused; Cratinus did not spare even the great Pericles, and Aristophanes respected not the wisdom of Socrates. Not contented with making men's actions the subjects of their pieces, they represented their faces to the life by means of masks, which were made to resemble them. DACIER.

How closely Foote, the modern Aristophanes, trod in the steps of these ancients is notorious.

alone,

alone, of those sects especially which boast the Gods as the first promulgers of their doctrine, such as those of Pythagoras *, Plato, and Aristotle, and also those who follow Chrysippus † and Zeno ‡. Not that we should listen to all, or to the tenets of them all, but to those tenets only which are productive of piety: and as to the Gods, these teach us, first, that they are; secondly, that they regard things below §; and lastly, that they do not the least evil to men or others, or are envious, slanderous, or contentious, as has been related by our poets, but for which they are despised, while the Jewish prophets, for strongly asserting the same, are admired by those wretches who adhere to the Galileans ||. To us those histories are most suitable which relate real facts; but let those fictions, which the ancients have composed in the form of histories, be avoided; such as love-tales,

* See p. 21. † See p. 8. ‡ See p. 39.

§ Thus St. Paul—*he that cometh to God must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him.* Heb. xi. 6.

|| The sentiments of Julian were expressed in a style of sarcastic wit, which inflicts a deep and deadly wound whenever it issues from the mouth of a sovereign. As he was sensible that the Christians gloried in the name of their Redeemer, he countenanced, and perhaps enjoined, the use of the less honourable appellation of *Galileans*. GIBBON.

There might be a mixture of policy in it too, as knowing the efficacy of a nick-name to render a profession ridiculous. LA BLETERIE.

This nick-name, however, did not originate with Julian. Epictetus gave the Christians the same appellation near 300 years before. See his Discourses IV. § 2. &c.

and every thing in that ſtrain. As all ways * are not proper for a prieſt †, but require being pointed out to him, neither does every kind of reading ſuit him. For the mind is affected by books, and the paſſions, being ſoon raiſed, on a ſudden burſt forth into a dreadful flame. Againſt this, I think, we ſhould watchfully guard long before.

Let no admittance be given to the doctrine of Epicurus ‡, nor to that of Pyrrho §. The Gods indeed

* This refers to the "Sacred Way," a ſtreet in Rome ſo called, becauſe the prieſts went that way on the ides of each month to ſacrifice. Horace met his Impertinent in it. *Ibam forte viâ ſacrâ*, &c. *l.* 1. *Sat.* 9.

† As to this inſtitution there is a remarkable paſſage of Athenæus, at the end of his ſixth book, where he treats of the remains of ancient frugality and parſimony, which were ſtill retained in the offices of religion: "We walk in "ſome preſcribed and appointed ways; we carry [in our "proceſſions] and repeat in our prayers what we are enjoined, and in our ſacrifices we act with ſimplicity and "œconomy. For we wear nothing more than nature requires, either next to our bodies, or in our outward "garments; our cloaths and our ſhoes are cheap, and the "veſſels with which we miniſter are of earth or braſs."

PETAU.

‡ Epicurus, the diſciple of Xenocrates and Ariſtotle, ſuppoſed the world to be formed by chance, or a fortuitous concourſe of atoms. He maintained alſo that pleaſure was the end of man, of which he conſtituted ſenſe the judge. He denied the natural relation of mankind to each other, taught irreligion and injuſtice, and his principles led to oppreſſion, adultery, and murder, in the opinion of Epictetus and others.

§ Pyrrho, the founder of the ſect of the Pyrrhoniſts [or Sceptics] was born at Elis, and flouriſhed about the time of Alexander. [He was contemporary alſo with Epicurus and Theophraſtus.] He held, that there is no difference between juſt and unjuſt, good and evil; that all things are equally

indeed have wisely abolished them, many of their writings being lost *; but it cannot be improper to mention them, for the sake of example, to shew what kind of books the priests ought principally to shun. And if books, much rather should thoughts, be avoided. For the guilt of the mind, and that of

equally indifferent, uncertain, and undistinguishable; that neither our senses nor understanding give us either a true or a false information: therefore, that we ought to give them no credit, but to remain without opinion, without motion, without inclination; and to say of every thing, that it no more is than it is not; that it is no more one thing than another; and that against one reason there is always an equal reason to be opposed. His life is said to have been conformable to his principles; for that he never avoided any thing; and his friends were obliged to follow him, to prevent his running under the wheels of a coach, or walking down a precipice. But these stories perhaps are nothing but mere invention, formed to expose the absurdities of his system. Once, when he saw his master Anaxarchus fallen into a ditch, he passed by him, without offering him any assistance. Anaxarchus was consistent enough with his principles not to suffer Pyrrho to be blamed for this tranquil behaviour; which he justified, as a laudable instance of indifference, and want of affection. A fine picture this of sceptical friendship!

For a more complete account of the system of Pyrrho, see Diogenes Laertius, in his life; and Lipsius *Manuduct. ad Stoic. Philosoph.* l. II. dis. 3. Mrs. CARTER.

* The exultation of Julian that these impious sects, and even their writings, are extinguished, may be consistent enough with the sacerdotal character; but it is unworthy of a philosopher to wish that any opinions, and arguments the most repugnant to his own, should be concealed from the knowledge of mankind. GIBBON.

"With the sacerdotal character, of a Pagan or a Papist, "such exultation may be consistent;" but surely not with that of a Protestant, who is taught to "prove all things," and whose secession from the church of Rome was grounded on freedom of enquiry, and justified by reason.

the tongue, are not, in my opinion, of an equal dye; but the mind ſhould in the firſt place be guarded, as by it the tongue is taught to offend. The hymns therefore of the Gods ſhould be learned, which are many and beautiful, compoſed both by ancients and moderns; and chiefly thoſe which are ſung in the temples. For moſt of them the Gods have by ſupplications been induced to deliver; though ſome, the effuſions of divine inſpiration, and of ſouls inacceſſible to evil, have been made by men in honour of the Gods. Theſe deſerve to be ſtudied; and the Gods ſhould frequently be addreſſed, in private as well as in public; generally three times a day; or, at leaſt, at the dawn, and in the evening. Nor is it proper for a prieſt to paſs a whole day and night without a ſacrifice; for as the dawn is the beginning of the day, ſo is the evening of the night; and therefore it is reaſonable to offer the firſt-fruits, as it were, of both theſe intervals to the Gods when we reſt from our prieſtly function. The rites that are performed in the temples are performed in obedience to the laws of our country, and neither more nor leſs is required than they preſcribe. Theſe are the property of the Gods. Therefore to render them the more propitious, we ſhould imitate their nature: And indeed if we conſiſted of ſouls only, as the body would then be no obſtruction to us, it might be proper to preſcribe a particular mode of life to the prieſts. But ſince the

the prieſts do not merely conſiſt of ſouls *, that which they are to ſtudy in the time of their miniſtration is not the whole of their employment. What then is allowable to one who is appointed to the prieſtly office at the ſeaſons when he is not engaged in his ſacred vocation? I am of opinion that a prieſt ſhould in every reſpect be immaculate, both by night and day; that he ſhould purify himſelf every night with thoſe luſtrations that our ordinances require; and that he ſhould confine himſelf within the precincts of the temple as many days as the laws enjoin. To us at Rome thirty days † are commanded; other places differ. All thoſe days he ſhould reſide, I think, and philoſophiſe in the temple; and not go either home, or to the forum; nor ſee even a magiſtrate, except in the temple; but take upon himſelf the ſuperintendence of divine worſhip, and inſpect and regulate the whole. Thoſe days being completed, when another has ſucceeded to his office, and he returns to the ordinary buſineſs of life, let him freely reſort

* Something here is wanting; I have ſupplied it by conjecture.

† It is remarkable that the leaſt reſidence enjoined by their local ſtatutes to the prebendaries in moſt of our cathedrals conſiſts of exactly the ſame number of days, viz. thirty. But their "ſtrict reſidence," as it is called, being in general indiſpenſible, of twenty-one days *in continuum*, is much leſs ſtrict than that of theſe Pagan prieſts, as it is ſatisfied by their appearing in their ſtalls once every day, and ſleeping in their houſes every night. Thirty days reſidence being enjoined (as above) at Rome to every prieſt, the number allotted to each temple muſt have been twelve at leaſt.

to

to the houſes of his friends, and, when he is invited, to the entertainments, not indeed of all, but of perſons whoſe characters are reſpectable. At ſuch times alſo there is no indecorum in his going, but rarely, to the forum; or in viſiting the duke * and præfect * of the province, and to the utmoſt of his power relieving the indigent.

Let me add, that I think it becoming for the prieſts to wear in the temple, during their miniſtration, a moſt magnificent habit, but out of it a common plain dreſs. For it is abſurd to pervert what is given us in honour of the Gods to the purpoſes of pride and vanity. And therefore in the forum we ſhould renounce our coſtly veſtments, and totally relinquiſh all oſtentation. The Gods, admiring the modeſty of Amphiaraus, though they had doomed that army to deſtruction, in which, appriſed of this decree, he ſerved, and therefore his fate was inevitable, removed him from this life to another, and gave him a divine inheritance. For when all the chiefs who beſieged Thebes inſcribed devices on their ſhields † before they were forged, and thus erected trophies, as it were, on the calamities of the Cadmeans ‡, this converſer with the Gods went on that expedition with armour unin-

* The military and civil commanders, the general and the governor. The former was ſtyled ηγεμων, or dux.

† The oſtentatious devices, or armorial bearings of theſe chiefs, may be ſeen in Æſchylus.

‡ The Thebans, ſo called from Cadmus, the ſuppoſed founder of their city.

ſcribed *, ſo that even his enemies atteſted his clemency and moderation. Prieſts therefore, I think, ſhould [imitate his example †], in order to inſure the favour of the Gods. For we offend them not a little by expoſing to the populace the ſacred veſtments, and improperly divulging them to the public view as a wonderful ſight. From whence it happens, as we are approached by many who are impure, that the ſymbols of the Gods are defiled. But for us to wear the habit, and not to lead the lives, of prieſts, is in itſelf a ſummary

* Thus Æſchylus, in his Seven Chiefs againſt Thebes,

——————— with awful port the prophet
Advanc'd his maſſy ſhield, the ſhining orb
Bearing no impreſs; for his generous ſoul
Wiſhes to be, not to appear, the beſt §;
And from the culture of his modeſt worth
Bears the rich fruit of great and glorious deeds. POTTER.

As this modeſt and amiable augur was fighting bravely, the earth opened beneath him, and he deſcended alive to the infernal regions, with all his arms, and in his chariot. Statius has exerted the utmoſt force of his genius in deſcribing this righteous hero. *Ibid.*

Amphiaraus wearing his ſhield entirely plain is accounted for in the ſame manner by Euripides, who has imitated the above, in his Phœnician Virgins:

——————— no unſeemly pride
In his armorial bearings was expreſs'd,
But on his modeſt buckler there appear'd
A vacant field. WODHULL.

Homer ſtyles him, Odyſſ. xv. 245.

The people's ſaviour, and divinely wiſe,
Belov'd by Jove and him who gilds the ſkies POPE, 274.

"By Jove," ſays Euſtathius, "becauſe he was a king, and by Apollo, becauſe he was a prophet."

† Some ſuch words are wanting here in the original.

§ *Eſſe quam videri.*

of

of every tranſgreſſion, and the greateſt contempt of the Gods. On that therefore I will be more particular.

I addreſs you on this ſubject, as I deem you a model. At obſcene theatrical entertainments let not a prieſt by any means be preſent; nor admit them in his own houſe; as nothing can be more unbecoming. And if ſuch exhibitions could be totally baniſhed from the ſtage, and if all houſes could be kept pure from Bacchus *, I would uſe my utmoſt endeavours to effect ſuch a reform. But as I think this ſcarce poſſible, and, if it were, that it might not be expedient, I have abandoned that vain purſuit. I think it, however, highly proper for prieſts to abſent themſelves from theatres, and to leave their laſciviouſneſs to the people. Let no prieſt therefore enter the theatre, nor form a friendly connection with any actor, or charioteer †, and

* That his own "cup" was "temperate" we have not only his own word (Epiſt. XLVI.) but that of his contemporaries. What he practiſed he had therefore a right to preach. St. Paul, in like manner, teaches his biſhops and deacons to be *not given to wine, to be lovers of hoſpitality, lovers of good men, juſt, holy, temperate*, &c And, though omitted here, Julian directs his prieſts alſo to be *no ſtrikers*, in a particular Epiſtle (the LXIIId) on that ſubject.

† Thoſe who drove the chariots in the Circenſian or public games, whoſe company, like that of our *black legs*, was ſhunned by all who had a regard for their own reputation. Nero therefore could not more effectually degrade his own character than by aſſuming that. Had he been a Britiſh prince, he would have rid his own horſes at Newmarket, or driven a ſtage-coach on the road. Actors were viewed by Julian, and the lovers of decorum, in the ſame diſgrace-

and let no dancer or mimic approach his door. I allow the prieſts to go only, if they pleaſe, to the ſacred games; provided they are thoſe at which women are forbidden not only to enter the liſts *, but to be preſent. As to the hunting-matches which are exhibited in ſome cities within the theatres †, need I ſay, that from them not merely the prieſts, but even their ſons, ſhould be excluded?

diſgraceful light. Though Æſopus in extravagance might rival Cleopatra, neither he nor Roſcius was deemed, like our Garrick, a companion for prieſts and ſenators.

* Juvenal (Sat. I.) mentions the women in his time as ambitious of ſhewing their courage in encountering wild beaſts, though with the forfeiture of their modeſty.

Cum ——————— *Mævia Tuſcum*
Figat aprum, &c.
When —— the manniſh whore
Shakes her broad ſpear againſt the Tuſcan boar.
DRYDEN.

Martial compliments the emperor Domitian on the ſame account; and the women are expoſed by Juvenal (Sat. VI.) for engaging even as gladiators. KENNET.

† The *Venatio dirceptionis* ſeems to have been an inſtitution of the later Emperors. The middle part of the *Circus* being ſet all over with trees, removed thither by main force, and faſtened to huge planks, which were laid on the ground; theſe, being covered with earth and turf, repreſented a natural foreſt, into which the beaſts being let from the *caveæ*, or dens under ground, the people at a ſign given by the Emperor fell to hunting them, and carried away what they killed to regale upon at home. The beaſts uſually given were boars, deer, oxen, and ſheep. Ibid.

The amphitheatral beaſts ſometimes broke looſe from their dens, and made great havock in the city, as is mentioned by Pliny, Ammianus, and others.

For ſimilar hunting-matches in the Greek amphitheatres bears and panthers were provided, as Julian mentions in his xxxvth Epiſtle, for the Argives.

I ſhould

I should perhaps have previously mentioned from whence, and how, the priests should be chosen. But there is no impropriety in making this the close of my discourse. Let them consist of persons of the best characters in every city. In the first place, they should be ardent lovers of the Gods; and, secondly, of mankind also *; of the poor as well as the rich. As to that, let no distinction be made between the noble and the mean. For he whom his modesty sequesters is by no means to be rejected on account of the obscurity of his merit. Therefore, though a man be poor, or a Plebeian, if he have these two endowments, love towards the Gods, and love towards men *, let him be elected into the priesthood. His love towards the Gods will appear by his instructing his family in religious duties; and his love towards men by his distributing from a little liberally † to the necessitous, by giving with a willing mind, and endeavouring to do as much good as possible. But this part requires the utmost attention, as some preventive remedy must be provided.

* What are these but the two Christian commandments, the love of God and of our neighbour, on which, says our Saviour, *hang all the law and the prophets?*

† Thus Tobit, IV. 8. *If thou hast abundance, give alms accordingly: if thou have but a little, be not afraid to give according to that little.*

Observing,

Observing, I suppose, that our priests neglect the poor *, the impious Galileans have adopted this philanthropy, and on the semblance of this duty have founded a most enormous crime; like those who allure children with cakes, which having given them twice or thrice, they inveigle them from their parents, and, conveying them on ship-board, sell them in distant countries; and thus for a transient sweet the remainder of their lives is imbittered †. In the same manner, they, be-

* The author must have known, from the sacred books which he read as lecturer in the church of Nicomedia, that this was an unfair representation, and that the Christians had a prior and much more cogent obligation in their divine law, whose characteristic is philanthropy and universal benevolence. But he is not ashamed first to plunder and then to revile it.

† He insinuates, that the Christians, under the pretence of charity, inveigled children from their religion and parents, conveyed them on ship-board, and devoted those victims to a life of poverty or servitude, in a remote country. Had this charge been proved, it was his duty not to complain but to punish. GIBBON.

Though I have transcribed this note, I cannot assent to the construction which the ingenious writer has put upon the sentiments of Julian in the first part of it. The "inveigling of children," (above-mentioned) I apprehend to be only (as I have translated it) "by way of simile;" nor is it said or implied that Christians only were the inveiglers. The simile, as usual, begins with Ωσπερ ("As") and the application is made by Του αυτου και αυτοι τροπου ("They, in "like manner") so that the charge against the Christians is confined to their charity and ministration to the poor (*Forgive* them *this wrong!*) for which indeed (as above remarked) Julian assigns an unworthy and disingenuous motive, qualified by a "suppose" (οιμαι) which he could not really "suppose" to be true. But ready as he was to calumniate the faithful, let us not impute to him charges which he never brought.

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ginning with what they call a love-feaſt, and a hoſpital *, and the miniſtry of tables † (for, as the work, ſo alſo is the word, frequent among them), pervert the faithful to impiety ‡. * * * * * *

* "Hoſpital" (ξενοδοχη) I have here reſtored to its original ſenſe, as derived from *hoſpitium*, a ſenſe which, from the diſuſe of ſuch charitable foundations for age and want, independently of accidents and diſeaſes, ſeems almoſt loſt amongſt us, the term being now generally confined to receptacles for caſualty and ſickneſs. But the hoſpitals eſtabliſhed by our anceſtors, in the true primitive ſpirit of the goſpel, at and near Canterbury, at Guildford, Croydon, &c. which are ſtill in being, were appropriated, in the former ſenſe, to the lodging and relief of the old and neceſſitous.

† Διακονιας τραπεζων. The ſame expreſſion is uſed by St. Luke, in Acts vi. 2.

From hence it appears, as has been related by Tertullian and others, that, on account chiefly of the poor, thoſe common tables, common banquets, κοιναι τραπεζαι, κοιναι ευωχιαι, as the ancient teachers of the Chriſtians afterwards called them, [miſprinted ευχωχιαι. See Athenæus, *l.* VIII. *c.* 16.] were furniſhed by the rich. And alſo, as is mentioned by Theophanes, that *xenodochia*, or receptacles, were built for receiving any foreign poor, whether Gentiles or Chriſtians; and in the ſame place he informs us of the certain quantity of corn which was diſtributed in the province of Galatia for the relief of ſtrangers and the poor.

SPANHEIM.

‡ The Fragment here ends abruptly. Other charges, equally abſurd, might perhaps follow; though, as this is ſtyled the "cloſe" of it (τυς λογυς λεξαι), it could not be much longer.

THE

THE CÆSARS *.

JULIAN. IT is the season of the Saturnalia †; the God therefore allows us to be merry; but as I have no talent for the ludicrous, I am inclined, my friend, to blend wisdom with mirth. Dec. 361.

FRIEND.

* Julian composed this satire after he was Emperor. I would say, that the friend with whom he converses was either Sallust the Second, or Sallust præfect of Gaul, if the satire of the Cæsars were the same as the work, entitled, The Saturnalia, as he seems to say himself (*Orat.* IV.) that he had addressed that to Sallust. But a passage in the Saturnalia, quoted by Suidas, and which is not in the Cæsars, proves that they were different works. [That passage is as follows: "But we believe Empedotimus ‡ "and Pythagoras, and what, derived from them, has been "delivered by Heraclides § of Pontus, and was lately "communicated to us by that excellent hierophant "Jamblichus."] It is needless to add that the word *Cæsar* here means *Emperor*. Even after that name had been appropriated to a new dignity, the Augusti still retained it, though those who were only Cæsars never bore the name of Emperors or Augusti. LA BLETERIE.

Julian composed this satire in the winter that he spent at Constantinople. SUIDAS.

‡ He wrote on Natural History.

Julian mentions him also in the Fragment, by the name of "the great Empedotimus," and classes him with Socrates and Dion, as being unjustly put to death.

§ A native of Heraclea in Pontus, a hearer of Plato and Aristotle. He left several works, enumerated by Diogenes Laertius, but all now lost. A little treatise "on Commonwealths" is however ascribed to him.

FRIEND. Can any one, Cæsar, be so absurd as to joke seriously? I always thought that this was intended only for relaxation, and to alleviate care.

JUL.

The book of Henry Stephens, preserved in the London library, mentions, in the Catalogue of his books, Συμποσιον, ἡ Κρονια, ("The Banquet, or Saturnalia,") and does not name the Cæsars. PETAU.

The philosophical fable, which Julian composed under the name of the Cæsars, is one of the most agreeable and instructive productions of ancient wit. Spanheim, in his preface, has most learnedly discussed the etymology, origin, resemblance, and disagreement of the Greek *Satyrs*, a dramatic piece, which was acted after the tragedy, and the Latin *Satires* (from *Satura)*, a miscellaneous composition, either in prose or verse. But the Cæsars of Julian are of such an original cast, that the critic is perplexed to which class he should ascribe them. The value of this agreeable composition is enhanced by the rank of the author. A prince who delineates with freedom the vices and virtues of his predecessors, subscribes, in every line, the censure, or approbation, of his own conduct. GIBBON.

Thus agreeable, and thus instructive, it seems extraordinary that this should be the first attempt (at least I know of no other) to translate the Cæsars into English.

† The festivals of Saturn were instituted in the consulship of Sempronius Atratinus, and Minucius; or, according to others, in that of Titus Lartius. Others make them commence in the time of Janus, king of the Aborigines, who received Saturn in Italy, survived him, and placed him among the Gods. The better to represent that peace and abundance which were enjoyed in the reign of that God, these festivals passed in entertainments and rejoicings. The Romans quitted the *toga*, and appeared in public in an undress. They sent presents to each other as on new-year's day. Games of chance, forbidden at other times, were then allowed, the senate adjourned, the business of the bar ceased, and the schools were shut. The children proclaimed the festival by running through the streets, and crying *Io Saturnalia*. In ancient times it was held on the 17th of December, according to the year of Numa,

JUL. You are in the right; but that is by no means my diſpoſition; as I have never been addicted to ſcoffs, ſatire, or ridicule. In order, however, to comply with the ordinance of the God, ſhall I, by way of amuſement, repeat to you a fable, which you will not perhaps be diſpleaſed to hear?

FRIEND. You will oblige me. For I am ſo far from deſpiſing fables, that I value thoſe which have a moral tendency, being of the ſame opinion with you, and your, or rather our, Plato, who has diſcuſſed many ſerious ſubjects in fictions.

JUL. True.

FRIEND. But what, and whoſe, ſhall it be?

JUL. Not an ancient one, like thoſe of Æſop, but a fiction from Mercury. This I will repeat to you as I received it from that God, and whether it contain truth, or falſhood blended with truth, I will leave you to judge when you have heard it.

FRIEND. Enough, and more than enough, of preface. One would think you were going to deliver an oration rather than a fable. Now then proceed to the diſcourſe itſelf.

Numa, and continued only one day. Julius Cæſar, when he reformed the calendar, added two days to that month, which were inſerted before the Saturnalia, and given to that feſtival. Auguſtus afterwards added to it a fourth day, and the Emperor Caius a fifth, named *Juvenalia*. In theſe five days was included that which was appropriated to the worſhip of Rhea, called *Opalia*. There was afterwards celebrated for two days the feſtival in honour of Pluto, called *Sigillaria* (or feaſt of ſtatues) from ſome ſmall images that were offered to that God. All theſe feſtivals were appendages to the Saturnalia, which thus laſted ſeven whole days, from the 15th to the 21ſt of December. SANADON.

Jul. Attend.

Romulus, sacrificing at the Saturnalia, invited all the Gods, and Cæsars also, to a banquet. Couches were prepared for the reception of the Gods on the summit of heaven, on

Olympus, the firm mansion of th' Immortals *.

Thither, it is said, like Hercules, Quirinus ascended. For thus, in compliance with the rumour of his divinity, we must style Romulus. Below the moon, in the highest region of the air, a repast was given to the Cæsars. Thither they were wafted, and there they were buoyed up, by the lightness of the bodies with which they were invested, and the revolution of the moon. Four couches †, of exquisite workmanship, were spread for the superior Deities. That of Saturn was formed of polished ebony, which reflected such a divine lustre as was insupportable. For on viewing this ebony the eye was as much dazzled by the excess of light, as it is by gazing stedfastly on the sun. That of Jupiter was more splendid than silver, and too white to be gold, but whether this should be called *electrum* ‡, or what other name should

* Odyss. VI. 42.

† The Roman mode of reclining, at their meals, on beds or couches, is too well known to need explanation. Every couch held three.

‡ Pure gold was in use to the days of Alexander Severus, who permitted a fifth part of silver to be mixed with four parts of gold. This they called *electrum*; and, in consequence of his regulations, medals were consecrated to him as the restorer of the coin: a compliment due with equal justice

ſhould be given it, Mercury, though he had enquired of the metalliſts, could not preciſely inform me.

On each ſide of them ſat on golden thrones the mother and the daughter, Juno near Jupiter, Rhea near Saturn. On the beauty of the Gods Mercury did not deſcant; as that, he ſaid, tranſcended my faculties, and was impoſſible for him to expreſs. For no terms level to my comprehenſion, however eloquent, could ſufficiently extol or do juſtice to the inimitable beauty of the Gods.

Thrones, or couches, were prepared for all the other Deities, according to their ſeniority. As to this, there was no diſagreement; for, as Homer, inſtructed, no doubt, by the Muſes themſelves, obſerves, "each God has his own throne aſſigned "him, where he is firmly and immoveably fixed *." When therefore they riſe at the entrance of their Father, they never confound or change their ſeats, or infringe on thoſe of others. Every one knows his proper ſtation.

Thus all the Gods being ſeated in a circle, Silenus † fondly placed himſelf near young and beautiful

juſtice to the providence of the preſent moſt auguſt Sovereign of Great Britain; who, in this and many other reſpects, may be compared to that moſt excellent and virtuous Emperor. CLARKE.

Julian (as will be obſerved in the ſequel) has not done juſtice to this prince.

* I do not recollect this paſſage in Homer, nor has the Index of Seberus enabled me to find it.

† The mixed character of Silenus is finely painted in the ſixth eclogue of Virgil. GIBBON.

beautiful Bacchus (who was close to his father Jupiter), as his foster-father and governor, diverting the God, who is a lover of mirth and laughter, with his facetious and sarcastic sayings.

As soon as the table was spread for the Cæsars, the first who appeared was JULIUS CÆSAR. Such was his passion for glory, that he seemed willing to contend for dominion with Jupiter himself. Silenus, observing him, said, "Behold, Jupiter, one "who has ambition enough to endeavour to de- "throne you: He is, you see, strong and hand- "some, and, if he resembles me in nothing else, "his head, at least, is certainly the fellow of "mine *."

Amidst these jokes of Silenus, to which the Gods paid little attention, OCTAVIANUS entered. He assumed, like a camelion, various colours, at first appearing pale, then black, dark, and cloudy †, and,

Servius remarks that Virgil took the hint of his Silenus from Theopompus. According to our ideas of the Heathen Gods, the part assigned to him by Julian seems rather more suitable to Momus.

* It should be remembered that Silenus was represented very short, flat-nosed, with large eyes, and a fat paunch. Cæsar, on the contrary, was tall, well-made, and of a genteel shape. His aquiline nose, his piercing eyes, and his noble air seemed to announce the master of the world. But he was bald, like Silenus, which so much concerned him, that of all the distinctions that were lavished upon him by the Roman senate and people, none, it is said, gave him more pleasure than that of always wearing a crown of laurel. LE BLETERIE.

† This marks the various characters which the policy of Augustus knew how to assume, as occasion required; the supple-

and, at last, exhibiting the charms of Venus and the Graces. In the lustre of his eyes he seemed willing to rival the sun *; nor could any one encounter his looks. "Strange!" cried Silenus; "what a changeable creature is this! what mischief will he do us!" 'Cease trifling,' said Apollo, 'after I have consigned him to Zeno, I will exhibit him to you pure as gold. Hark ye,' added he to that philosopher; 'Zeno, undertake the care 'of my pupil †.' He, in obedience, suggesting to

suppleness with which he cringed at first to the republican party, his cruelty in the proscription, &c. his conduct compounded both of good and evil till he had destroyed the Triumvirs his collegues; and, lastly, the gentleness and equity of his government when he was absolute master. On his death-bed he asked his friends, whether he had performed his part well in the world; *ecquid iis videretur mimum vitæ commodè transegisse?* He might have been answered, that the actor was inimitable, and that the piece would have been applauded without exception, if its beginning had been less tragical. *Ibid.*

* These particulars are found in Suetonius: "His "eyes were bright and lively, and he affected to have it "thought there was a certain divine vigour in them, and "was wonderfully pleased, if any one, when he looked "earnestly upon him, turned down his eyes to the ground, "as at the lustre of the sun." *Suet. Aug. c.* 79. *Ibid.*

This image employed by Julian, in his ingenious fiction, is just and elegant; but when he considers this change of character as real, and ascribes it to the power of philosophy, he does too much honour to the power of philosophy and to Octavius. GIBBON.

† It is pretended that the conversation of the philosophers, in particular that of Athenodorus the Stoic, contributed greatly to correct the faults of Augustus. Athenodorus shall be mentioned in the close of these remarks. Let it be observed, by the way, that Julian places the philosophers in heaven, with the exception, no doubt, of Epicurus and Pyrrho, whose tenets he detested. LA BLETERIE.

him a very few precepts, as if he had muttered the incantations of Zamolxis, soon rendered him wise and virtuous.

The third who approached was TIBERIUS, with a grave but fierce aspect, appearing at once both wise and martial. As he turned to sit down, his back displayed several scars, some cauteries and sores, severe stripes and bruises, scabs and tumours, imprinted by lust and intemperance. Silenus then saying,

" Far diff'rent now thou seemest than before *",

in a much more serious tone, ' Why so grave, my ' dear ?' said Bacchus. " That old satyr, " replied " he, has terrified me, and made me inadvertently " quote a line of Homer." ' Take care that he ' does not also pull your ears,' said Bacchus; ' for ' thus, it is said, he treated a certain grammarian †.'

" He

* Αλλοιος μοι, ξεινε, φαινῃς νεον ἠ το παροιθεν.

This is what Telemachus says, in the XVIth book of the Odyssey, to his father Ulysses, whom he did not yet know, and in whose outward appearance Minerva had just wrought a metamorphosis. LA BLETERIE.

" Before," in English, is as equivocal as παροιθεν, in Greek. This the French translator, as he observes, could not retain, *auparavant* not signifying the same as *par devant*.

† This fact is unknown. But we know that Tiberius had at his table some men of learning (they were at that time distinguished by the name of grammarians), whom he delighted to embarrass by frivolous and absurd questions. He asked them, for instance, who was the mother of Hecuba; what name Achilles bore at the court of Lycomedes; what the Sirens sung, &c. Those who had the misfortune to displease this tyrant did not always escape so well as he whom Julian mentions. As the questions of Tiberius

" He had better," returned Silenus, " bemoan " himſelf in his ſolitary iſland (meaning Capreæ) " and tear the face of ſome miſerable fiſherman *."

While they were thus joking, a dreadful monſter [CALIGULA] appeared. The Gods averting their eyes, Nemeſis delivered him to the avenging Furies, who immediately threw him into Tartarus, without allowing Silenus to accoſt him. But on the approach of CLAUDIUS, Silenus began to ſing the beginning of the part of Demoſthenes in the Knights of Ariſtophanes †, cajoling CLAU-

Tiberius often related to what he had read, the grammarian Seleucus took care to learn what books the Emperor was reading. Tiberius being appriſed of it, not contented with baniſhing him from the palace, forced him to deſtroy himſelf. *Suet. Tiber.* 70 and 56. LA BLETERIE.

* A few days after Tiberius had retired into the iſland of Capreæ, a fiſherman came over the rocks, and preſented him with a barbel of an extraordinary ſize. Tiberius, who thought himſelf in this retreat inacceſſible, being terrified at the boldneſs of this fiſherman, ordered his face to be ſcratched with his fiſh. And the poor man rejoicing that he had not alſo preſented him with a monſtrous crab that he had caught, Tiberius commanded his face to be torn with the crab. *Suet. Tib.* 60. *Ibid.*

† In the firſt ſcene of that comedy, whoſe object is to depreciate in the eyes of the people one Cleon, who had gained their entire confidence, Demoſthenes and Nicias, two Athenian generals, complain bitterly of the tyranny which this new-comer exerciſes in the houſe, meaning the ſtate, over the other ſlaves, that is, thoſe who had a ſhare in the government. " Alas! alas!" ſays Demoſthenes, " how much reaſon we have to complain! May the juſt " Gods confound that wicked Paphlagonian, both him and " his projects! That ſlave, lately purchaſed, ſince he has " been introduced into the family, inceſſantly beats the " ſervants."

Claudius. Then turning to Quirinus, "You "are unjuſt," ſaid he, "to invite your deſcendant "without his freed-men, Narciſſus and Pallas. "But, beſides them, you ſhould alſo ſend for his "wife Meſſalina, for without them, he appears "like guards in a tragedy, mute and inanimate."

While Silenus was ſpeaking, Nero entered, playing on his harp, and crowned with laurel. Silenus then turned to Apollo, and ſaid, "This man "makes you his model." 'I ſhall ſoon uncrown 'him,' replied Apollo: 'he did not imitate me in 'every thing, and when he did, he was a bad imi-'tator.' Cocytus therefore inſtantly ſwept him away, diveſted of his crown.

"ſervants." Among the Greeks, the term *Paphlagonian* was an affront; it meant a Barbarian, a blockhead, a ſtammerer. In every ſenſe it ſuited the Emperor Claudius, who was born in the Gauls; who, with ſome learning and genius, never reaſoned when he was in fear, and he was in fear during his whole life, even on the throne; and his words were ſo badly articulated, that he could ſcarce be underſtood. But the Paphlagonian of Ariſtophanes ill-treated the ſlaves; while the Paphlagonian of Silenus was governed and ill-treated by the ſlaves. Claudius was always the ſervant of his freed-men. He only complained of it, and that even in the ſenate. He ſaid there one day, ſpeaking of a certain freed-woman of his mother, "She "has always conſidered me as her maſter. I ſay it to her "commendation, becauſe there are at this time ſome in "my own family who do not think me their maſter." *Suet. Claud.* 39. The mixture of truth and irony, in the verſes of Ariſtophanes applied to Claudius, throws, I think, more humour into the pleaſantry of Silenus. M. Spanheim has but half underſtood it. La Bleterie.

After him, seeing many come crowding together, VINDEX *, OTHO, GALBA, VITELLIUS, Silenus exclaimed; "Where, ye Gods, have you found "such a multitude of monarchs? We are suffocated "with smoke; for beasts of this kind spare not "even the temples of the Gods †." Jupiter then looked at his brother Serapis ‡, and said, pointing to VESPASIAN, 'Send this miser, as soon as possible, 'out of Ægypt, to extinguish these flames. Bid 'his eldest son [TITUS] solace himself with a prosti-

* C. Julius Vindex, governor of Celtic Gaul, descended from the ancient kings of Aquitaine, was the first who revolted from Nero. Virginius Rufus, governor of Upper Germany, marched against him; but the two generals had a conference, in which they agreed against the tyrant; this, however, did not prevent the two armies from engaging, in spite of Virginius and Vindex, who could not restrain them. The latter was defeated, and killed himself in despair. Julian thinks that he designed to make himself Emperor. Yet he had written to Galba to offer him his forces and allegiance, if the latter would accept the empire. LA BLETERIE.

† Silenus has here chiefly in view the burning of the famous temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, which was perpetrated under Vitellius, and by those of his party. This passage, which throws light on what Vespasian says afterwards, and to which the Latin translators, not even F. Petau, have attended, I have corrected from an excellent Greek MS. of the works of Julian. SPANHEIM.

‡ Julian (*Orat.* IV.) says, that "Serapis is the same "as Pluto," to whom he assigns some functions very different from those which are ascribed to him by the poets. Here Jupiter addresses himself to Serapis, because Vespasian was first acknowledged by the legions that were in Ægypt, and proclaimed in Alexandria, July 1, 69. The years of his reign are reckoned from this day. Besides, it is pretended that this prince had received several striking marks of the protection of Serapis. *Tacit. Ann.* IV. 81. LA BLETERIE.

'tute *, but chain his younger ſon [DOMITIAN †], 'near the Sicilian tyger ‡.'

Then

* Μιᾶς τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τῆς πανδήμου, *cum Venere publicâ.* The manners of Titus, before he was Emperor, were far from irreproachable. See *Suet. Tit.* 7. His paſſion for Berenice was very ſcandalous. The tragedy of Racine has long accuſtomed the French to conſider her as a virtuous princeſs, worthy to aſcend the throne of the Cæſars. Great poets ſometimes determine reputations unjuſtly. Virgil and Racine have made two celebrated queens what they were not. The prudence of Berenice was always very equivocal at leaſt. She became a widow very young; and her zeal for the Jewiſh religion, which ſhe profeſſed, did not prevent her being accuſed of entertaining more than friendſhip for her brother Herod Agrippa. In order to put a ſtop to a report ſo injurious to her honour, ſhe married Polemon, king of Cilicia, after having obliged him to embrace Judaiſm; but ſhe did not live long with him, and left him, it is ſaid, through libertiniſm. This account, taken from Joſephus, makes me ſuſpect that ſhe is principally alluded to by Silenus, under the name of *Venus publica.* If the colours ſeem too ſtrong, let it be remembered, that thoſe of ſatire in general, and of this in particular, are not always exact. Is Julian, for inſtance, excuſable in ſaying nothing of the good qualities of Titus, and in characteriſing him only by one vice, which ought ſcarce to be admitted into his portrait, even by way of ſhade, as he was diveſted of it when he was Emperor? "This report," ſays Suetonius, "turned to his advantage, and was afterwards changed into the higheſt praiſes; when there was "found in him no one vice, but, on the contrary, the moſt "conſummate virtues. . . . . He immediately diſmiſſed "Berenice from the city, with the utmoſt reluctance "on both ſides." All that can be ſaid in excuſe of Julian is, that the reign of Titus was ſo ſhort, that one cannot venture to affirm, that his manners were really changed. This was probably the idea of the poet Auſonius, when he ſtyled him "happy in not having reigned "long:" *Felix brevitate regendi.* LA BLETERIE.

The reverſe of this, *Infelix brevitate regendi*, M. de la Bleterie applies to Jovian, as a motto to his Hiſtory of that prince.

The

Then came an old man [NERVA §], of a beautiful aspect (for even old age is sometimes beautiful), in his manners most gentle, and in his administration mild. With him Silenus was so delighted, that he remained silent. 'What!' said Mercury, 'have you nothing to say of this man?' "Yes, "by Jupiter," he replied; "for I charge you all "with partiality, in suffering that blood-thirsty "monster to reign fifteen years, but this man "scarce a whole year." 'Do not complain,' answered Jupiter; 'many good princes shall succeed him.'

TRAJAN immediately entered, bearing on his shoulders the Getic ‖ and Parthian trophies. Silenus, observing him, said, in a low voice, but loud enough to be heard, "Our lord Jupiter must "now be careful, or he will not be able to keep "Ganymede to himself." After him advanced a

† The cruelties of Domitian are well known.

‡ Phalaris.

§ Nerva, when he was raised to the empire, was sixty-three years old, at least. LA BLETERIE.

‖ Though the name of Getes was given more peculiarly to the nations beyond the Danube, who bordered on the mouths of that river, the Greeks gave the same name also to the Dacians, that is, the Transylvanians, the Wallachians, and the Moldavians. Trajan subdued them. In his reign the power of the Romans was at the greatest height it had ever attained. In the North, he reduced Dacia to a province. In the East, he made himself master of Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria. The Parthians, to whom he had given a king, were in some sort become subject to the Romans. *Ibid.*

venerable

venerable sage [HADRIAN], with a long beard *; an adept in music, gazing frequently on the heavens, and

* Hadrian was the first of the Emperors who wore a beard. "He let his grow," says Spartianus, "in order to "conceal some natural deformity;" *ut vulnera, quæ in facie naturalia erant, tegeret.* In reading the history of Hadrian, and even the little which Julian says of him in this satire, I am struck with some marks of resemblance between these two Emperors. They had both as much genius as it was possible to have, and of the same kind. They were greedy of glory, jocose, and sarcastic, fond to extravagance of the Greeks and the Grecian literature, both friends of the arts and sciences, both authors, both full of zeal for idolatry, superstitious, persecutors, astrologers, desirous of knowing every thing, perpetually inquisitive, so as to be accused of magic, fickle, obstinate, singular, and vain of being so. They both made very wise laws, and performed many acts of mercy. Hadrian sometimes seemed cruel, and it is said that Julian was humane only through vanity. Julian had not the infamous vices of Hadrian, and was not even suspected of them; but he had almost all his faults and absurdities. LA BLETERIE.

More striking to me are some marks of resemblance which may be traced between this Imperial sophist and the royal philosopher of Sans-souci. Both are authors of no small repute in various branches of literature. The Memoirs of himself and his family, which Julian has inserted in his Epistle to the Athenians, may be compared with those of the House of Brandenburgh, and the History of his Gallic campaigns, now lost, but mentioned by Libanius, with the Commentaries, yet unpublished, of the Prussian monarch. That Julian was a poet as well as Frederick, appears from a collection of his verses mentioned also by Libanius (*Orat. parent.* p. 161.) though two small pieces (which I have quoted and translated in the notes on the Misopogon), are all that now remain. Both solaced their leisure with the charms of music. The epistles of both have an air of familiar elegance. If the Cæsar lamented the loss of his friend Sallust, recalled by his jealous cousin, the prince deplored the fate of his favourite Kat, condemned to death by his cruel father. Both were married, early in life,

and curiously investigating the abstrusest subjects *. "What," said Silenus, think you of this Sophist? "Is he looking for Antinous †? If so, one of "you may tell him that the youth is not here,

life, by their predecessors, to princesses not of their own choice, yet neither of them was ever charged with any illicit amour. "The chastity of Julian," says Mr. Gibbon, "is confirmed by the impartial testimony of "Ammianus, and by the partial silence of the Christians." "Fortune," said the Prussian hero, after his defeat at Kolin, "is a female, and I am no gallant." The Roman carried the simplicity of his dress to an indecent extravagance; his beard and its inhabitants, his inky nails, &c. are recorded by himself. The German, by the scantiness of his wardrobe, his boots, and his snuff, as Dr. Moore informs us, is almost as singular in these more polished times. Early attached to Grecian literature, Julian neglected and despised the language and writers of Italy. Equally enamoured of the French language, Frederick has always professed a kind of aversion for those of Germany. If the Emperor invited Maximus, Priscus, and other Platonists from Greece, the King sent for Voltaire, Maupertuis, and other academicians from France. In war too, as well as in literature, these heroes have acted a distinguished but not always a successful part. In two particulars, however, they materially differ: Julian was a superstitious Pagan: Of Paganism or superstition Frederick has never been suspected; yet the former believed the immortality of the soul, which, it appears from his Epistle to Marshal Keith, &c. the latter does not.

* It is said, that Julian here meant to describe himself. He informs us (*Orat.* IV.) that "from his infancy, he "stopped to contemplate the stars with so much pleasure, "that he was even then deemed an astrologer (ἀστρομανὴς) "though he did not yet know what astrology was." Is the title of *curiositatis omnis explorator*, which Hadrian so justly deserved, and that of "Sophist," less applicable to the censor of Hadrian? LA BLETERIE.

† The deification of Antinous, his medals, statues, temples, city, oracles, and constellation, are well known, and still dishonour the memory of Hadrian. GIBBON.

"and

"and thus check his madness and folly." To these succeeded a man of moderation, not in venereal * but political pursuits [ANTONINUS PIUS.] Silenus, on seeing him, exclaimed, "Strange! "how important is he in trifles! This old man "seems to me one of those who would harangue "about a pin's point †.

At the entrance of two brothers, MARCUS AURELIUS and LUCIUS VERUS, Silenus contracted his brow, as he could by no means jeer or deride them ‡.

MARCUS,

* Our satyr here obliquely charges Antoninus Pius with lasciviousness; an imputation which was not true, it being certain that that Emperor was temperate and chaste. But he seems to have been accused, though not justly, of avarice, for adopting, when he was Emperor, the simple diet and parsimony of a private subject. PETAV.

Titus Antoninus, surnamed *Pius*, that is, "the good," was one of the greatest and best princes that the Romans had. Pausanias justly says, that "he deserved not only "the name of Pius, but also that of Father of Mankind, "which was formerly given to Cyrus." Antoninus had in fact the frailties with which Silenus reproaches him; but he early corrected them. LA BLETERIE.

† Εις των διαπριοντων τον κυμινον. "One that cuts cumin;" which seems analogous to our English phrase of "skinning "a flint." This we apply, however, only to misers; but, as M. de la Bleterie observes, "that of the Greeks refers "not only to avarice, but a littleness of mind. Anto-"ninus was generous, but not at the expence of any other "person; *largus sui, alieni abstinens.*" Our "splitting a "hair" may perhaps come nearer to it.

‡ They were brothers only by adoption. Silenus had too much to say of Lucius Verus. Indeed he was a good-natured prince, a sincere friend, and incapable of disguise. He always considered himself as the lieutenant rather than the collegue of his brother. But he indulged himself, without moderation, in all kinds of debaucheries, and was

a slave

MARCUS, in particular, though he ſtrictly ſcrutiniſed his conduct with regard to his ſon and his wife *; as to her, in his immoderate grief for her death, though ſhe little deſerved it; as to him, in hazarding the ruin of the empire by preferring him to a diſcreet ſon-in-law †, who would have made a better prince, and ſtudied the advantage of his ſon more than he did himſelf. Notwithſtanding theſe failings, Silenus could not but admire his exalted virtue. Thinking his ſon ‡ [COMMODUS] unworthy of any ſtroke of wit, he ſilently diſmiſſed him. And he, not being able to ſupport himſelf, or aſſociate with the heroes, fell down to the earth.

a ſlave to the miniſters of his pleaſures. Excepting that he was not cruel, that he did not drive chariots in the circus, nor act on the ſtage, he much reſembled Nero.
LA BLETERIE.

* The greateſt and perhaps the only fault of Marcus Aurelius was his exceſſive good-nature, which made him blind or too indulgent as to his brother, Lucius Verus, his wife, the too famous Fauſtina, and his ſon, Commodus. We ſhall mention him more than once in the ſequel. *Ibid.*

† Claudius Pompeianus, originally of Antioch, and ſon only of a Roman knight, but a man of extraordinary merit. Marcus Aurelius cauſed him twice to be nominated conſul, and gave him in marriage his daughter Lucilla, the relict of Lucius Verus. *Ibid.*

‡ One of the moſt wicked princes that ever reigned. "The "enemy of the Gods and of his country, the parricide, the "executioner of the ſenate, the gladiator, more cruel than "Domitian, more infamous than Nero," is part of the funeral elogium which the ſenate made on Commodus. This aſſembly, which thought it had always a right to ſit in judgment on the Emperors, would have ordered his body to be thrown into the Tiber, had not Pertinax prevented it. *Ibid.*

PERTINAX then approached, ſtill lamenting the mortal wound that he received at a banquet *. This excited the compaſſion of Nemeſis, who ſaid, "The authors of this deed ſhall not long exult; "but, PERTINAX, you were culpable † in being "privy to the conſpiracy that deſtroyed the ſon "of MARCUS." He was ſucceeded by SEVERUS ‡, a prince inexorable in puniſhing. 'Of him,' ſaid Silenus, 'I have nothing to ſay; for I am terrified 'by his ſtern and implacable looks.' His ſons would have accompanied him, but Minos prevented them, and kept them at a diſtance. With a prudent diſtinction, however, he diſmiſſed the youngeſt

* The ſenate and people flattered themſelves with having again found Marcus Aurelius in Pertinax; but he only reigned eighty-ſeven days. The Prætorian guards, who could not bear an Emperor ſo different from Commodus, maſſacred him in the palace. LA BLETERIE.

† The reproof given him by Silenus [rather Nemeſis] for being concerned in the conſpiracy of Letus and Marcia ſeems not well founded; but Julian perhaps follows ſome hiſtorian unknown to us. The death of Pertinax was revenged by Didius Julianus, who put Letus and Marcia to death; and by Severus, who caſhiered the Prætorians. Julian is right in not naming among the Emperors Didius Julianus, worthy of eternal oblivion, for buying the empire which the Prætorian guards had put up to auction. *Ibid.*

‡ Severus was perhaps the moſt warlike of all the Emperors. Like Hannibal an African, he had all his virtues; but he had alſo all the vices which the Romans aſcribe to the Carthaginian general. What Sylla ſaid of himſelf may be ſaid of Severus; "no one was a better friend or a worſe enemy." *Ibid.*

[GETA],

[GETA], and ordered the eldeſt [CARACALLA] to be puniſhed for his crimes *.

That craſty murderer MACRINUS †, and the youth of Emeſa ‡ [ELAGABALUS], were driven from the ſacred incloſure. But ALEXANDER THE SYRIAN §, being placed in the hinder ranks, bewailed

* The antipathy of Caracalla and Geta is well known. The latter ſeemed to have ſome good qualities. The former ſtabbed his brother in the arms of Julia, their common mother, who herſelf received a wound in the hand. He was as wicked, and almoſt as ſtupid, as Caligula. He was a profeſſed enemy to men of learning. LA BLETERIE.

† Macrinus, Prætorian præfect, knowing that Caracalla intended to kill him, cauſed that prince to be aſſaſſinated, on the road from Edeſſa to Carræ. The army, who did not think him guilty of that murder, choſe him Emperor; and their choice was confirmed by the Senate. But fourteen months after, Varius Avitus Baſſianus, afterwards known by the name of Elagabalus, having aſſumed the title of Auguſtus, marched againſt him, and attacked him on the borders of Syria and Phœnicia. Macrinus ſhamefully fled, while the event of the battle was yet undetermined. Endeavouring to eſcape into Europe, he was overtaken by his purſuers, and put to death. *Ibid.*

‡ Elagabalus was of Emeſa in Syria, the ſon of Varius Marcellus, a Roman ſenator, by Soëmia, the daughter of Mæſa, ſiſter to the Empreſs Julia. He may in ſome manner be conſidered as the nephew of Caracalla. He pretended even to be his ſon. All the infamous, extravagant, and cruel practices that can be committed by a young man without genius, taſte, or the leaſt ſpark of virtue or ſentiment, who, to indulge his caprice, endeavours to exhauſt the power and wealth of a Roman Emperor; this is an abſtract of the reign of that prince, or, to ſpeak more properly, that monſter. *Ibid.*

§ Alexander Severus is conſidered by many, even at preſent, as a moderate prince, *magis extra vitia quàm cum virtutibus*, of a narrow genius, timid, the ſlave of an imperious mother, &c. He owes this reputation to the hiſtory

wailed his misfortune. Silenus added, " O thou " fool and madman! highly exalted as thou wert, " thou didſt not govern for thyſelf, but gaveſt

of Herodian, an author by no means exact, but agreeable and intereſting, whom two tranſlations, one in Latin, the other in French, as good at leaſt as the original, have put within the reach of every one. Herodian diſcovers an extravagant prejudice againſt the Emperor Alexander, for which we might perhaps be able to account, if the hiſtorian were known to us otherwiſe than by his work. It were to be wiſhed that a pen as brilliant as his would endeavour to re-eſtabliſh the memory of a prince in all reſpects the moſt amiable and accompliſhed that is mentioned in ancient hiſtory. He wanted neither courage nor firmneſs. If he had a great deference for his mother Mammæa, it was as much owing to his diſcernment as to his gratitude and tenderneſs for her. The œconomy with which they are reproached was a virtue more neceſſary than ever in the ſtate to which the ſenſeleſs prodigality of Elagabalus had reduced the finances. Alexander died at twenty-nine years of age, and conſequently was younger than Trajan, T. Antoninus, and Marcus Aurelius were when they aſcended the throne; and yet he deſerves at leaſt to be compared with them. Julian has followed the Memoirs of Herodian; and, beſides, it ſhould not be forgotten, that Mammæa was probably a Chriſtian; that Alexander, inſtead of perſecuting the Chriſtians, worſhipped Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe ſtatue he honoured, in his oratory, with thoſe of Apollonius Tyanæus, Abraham, and Orpheus; that he had a deſign of building a temple to Jeſus Chriſt, and of cauſing him to be received among the deities adored by the Romans. This was more than ſufficient to make Alexander deſpiſed by Julian. Among the ſtrokes of ſatire which are couched under the name of *Syrian*, which he gives to the ſon of Mammæa, and which, however, he did not deſerve, except by his birth, I have no doubt that Julian includes the character of a worſhipper of Jeſus Chriſt. We know that Judea, where the Chriſtian religion had its riſe, was an appendage of Syria, and that the diſciples of Jeſus Chriſt were firſt ſtyled Chriſtians at Antioch.

LA BLETERIE.

" thy wealth to thy mother, and could'ſt not be " perſuaded that it was much better to beſtow it " on thy friends than to hoard it *." ' All, how-
' ever,'

* MAXIMIN, of the Gothic nation, the firſt of the Barbarians of the North, whom I find inveſted with the Roman dignities, made a ſenator by Alexander, and commanding ſome troops, conſpired againſt his benefactor, cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated near Mentz, and uſurped the ſupreme power. This Maximin was a kind of giant, being eight feet high, and with ſtrength proportioned to his ſtature; he was a great warrior, but ſo cruel and blood-thirſty, that he was named Cyclops and Phalaris. He obliged the whole empire to revolt againſt him, and, with his ſon, was at length ſlain by the ſoldiers, who thus revenged the death of Alexander.

It is ſurpriſing that Julian ſays not a ſingle word of any of the Emperors who reigned from Alexander to Valerian; namely, PUPIENUS and BALBINUS, GORDIAN the younger, the two PHILIPS, TRAJAN-DECIUS, and Æmilian. If he had omitted only the two firſt Gordians, and ſome others, Æmilian, for inſtance, it might be ſuppoſed that he conſidered them only as the phantoms of Emperors. Yet ſtill they deſerved to be named as much as Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, and more ſo than Vindex. Will it be ſaid, that ſome of them were unworthy to reign? Yet others were worthy; and, beſides, Julian has juſt mentioned Elagabalus. Will it be ſaid, that all thoſe princes had a tragical end? But he preſently introduces Valerian. It may alſo be obſerved, that Julian appears to have eſteemed the younger Gordian by offering ſacrifices and libations on his tomb, while he was marching againſt the Perſians.

In the IVth century, at lateſt, it was ſaid, that the Emperor Philip the father had been a Chriſtian, and that he had ſubmitted to public penance; a tradition the more ſtriking, as the Chriſtians had little intereſt in claiming the murderer of Gordian. The Chriſtianity of Philip, real or pretended, and the manner ſo unchriſtian in which he arrived at the throne, might have ſupplied the Silenus of Julian with ſome ſingular ſtrokes. Trajan-Decius would have been reckoned among the good princes, if he had

'ever,' said Nemesis, 'who were accessary to his 'death, I will deliver to the tormentors.' And thus the youth was dismissed.

GALLIENUS then entered, with his father [VALERIAN], the latter dragging the chain of his captivity, the other effeminate both in his dress and behaviour. Silenus thus ridiculed the father:

"——— By those snowy plumes distinguish'd,
"Before the ranks who marches in the van *."

And

not been a persecutor of the Christians; and doubtless it is not on that account that Julian erases him from the list of Emperors. Certain it is that no satisfactory reason can be assigned for all these omissions. It seems therefore very probable to me that the text is here mutilated. It is not the only chasm that I think I perceive in the satire of the Cæsars. LA BLETERIE.

* Wodhull's translation.

These two verses are taken from the Phœnician Virgins of Euripides. By λευκολοφας, "with the white plume," I imagine that Silenus alludes to the age and white hairs of Valerian. No one is unacquainted with his captivity, any more than the barbarity with which he was treated by Sapor I. Upon a false report of the death of Valerian, the Romans placed him among the Gods. Thus this unfortunate prince had altars in Rome, while in Persia he was trodden under foot. He was perhaps flead alive. Certain it is, that the Persians tanned his skin, dyed it red, and covered it with straw, in order to preserve it in a temple. Valerian had some excellent qualities; and his fate would perhaps have had more claim to pity, if he had not deserved it by shedding the blood of the Christians. The most dreadful circumstance of his misfortune was, the having on the throne a son who did not send even to demand his release. "He would have been revenged," says M. de Tillemont, "if he had not had a son." When Gallienus was informed of the imprisonment of his father, he answered by an apophthegm; "I knew that my father "was liable to the misfortunes of human nature." How much

And to the son he said,

" Him gold adorns, all dainty as a bride *."

Jupiter ordered them both to depart from the banquet †.

They were succeeded by CLAUDIUS ‡, on whom all the Gods fixed their eyes, admiring his magnanimity,

much are princes to be pitied! The flatterers of Gallienus discovered philosophy, and even heroism, in the indifference of this unnatural son. LA BLETERIE.

* This is an imitation of a line of Aristophanes, in his comedy of The Birds. Gallienus was a cowardly, slothful, effeminate prince, a good orator, a good poet, but a very bad emperor. While he was engaged in his debaucheries, and amusing himself in some misplaced studies, in some effusion of wit, in making some pretty verses, or uttering some good jokes on the loss of provinces, Italy itself was ravaged by the Barbarians. Without reckoning Zenobia and Odenathus, eighteen usurpers assumed the purple. Gallienus, to prevent such revolts, excluded the senators from all military employments; a fatal policy, which, in the sequel, contributed to raise to the throne mere cyphers, men who had nothing Roman but the name. In short, the reign of Gallienus is the æra of the fall of the empire, which never perfectly recovered the violent shocks which it then received. *Ibid.*

† Gallienus deserved to be excluded. But Julian seems to represent the Gods as ungrateful. Ought they thus to treat the fate of the unfortunate Valerian, who was so zealous for their worship? Misfortune, after all, is not a crime. But it should be remembered that Valerian was taken by his own fault, and that, according to the Pagan ideas, being a prisoner, he ought to have shortened his disgrace, and not have survived his liberty. When Perseus, king of Macedonia, applied to Paulus Æmilius not to lead him in triumph, the Roman considered him as a coward, and answered, " That depended, and still depends, on himself." *Ibid.*

‡ Claudius II. had every civil virtue and military talent. His reign lasted only two years; but he signalised it by a great

nanimity, and granted the empire to his descendants, thinking it just that the posterity of such a lover of his country should enjoy the sovereignty as long as possible *.

After him entered AURELIUS †, as if to escape those who were accusing him before Minos. For many

great victory gained over the Germans, and by the defeat of 320,000 Goths. It is said, that he devoted himself for the safety of his country. This devotement (if we understand by it a solemn devotement, like that which the Decii made of their persons in the time of the republic) is a fiction, contrary to the relation of the best historians, who say, that Claudius died of a pestilential fever at Sirmium. Julian, however, manifestly alludes to it. He believed, or was willing to believe, an incident so honourable to the memory of Claudius, whom he considered as the founder of his family. Constantius-Chlorus, the grandfather of Julian, was the son of Claudia, the daughter of Crispus, one of the brothers of Claudius II. The surname of Constantine came from the family of Claudius, as he had a sister named Constantina. Julian passes over Quintillus, the brother and successor of Claudius, because he reigned only twenty days at most. LA BLETERIE.

In his first oration in praise of Constantius, Julian celebrates also "the eminent virtues" of their common ancestor the Emperor Claudius; "the battles which he fought with "the Barbarians beyond the Danube, his condescending "manners, and that modesty of dress which was still ob"servable on his statues."

* In Julian this was not adulation, but superstition and vanity. GIBBON.

† Aurelian, the conqueror of the Barbarians, of Zenobia, and of Tetricus, completed the recovery of what Gallienus had lost. If he did the state too many services to be placed in the rank of bad princes, he was too severe and too cruel to be reckoned among the good. He was born in Pannonia, or Dacia, of a very obscure family. The mother of Aurelian, priestess of the Sun in her village, inspired her son, no doubt, with the zeal which he always professed

many charges of murder, which he could not palliate or excuſe, were brought againſt him. But my Lord the Sun *, who had patroniſed him on other occaſions, aſſiſted him alſo on this, by informing the Gods, that the Delphic oracle

" That he who evil does, ſhould evil ſuffer,
" Is righteous judgment,"

had been fulfilled.

The next was PROBUS, who in leſs than ſeven years re-built ſeventy cities, and alſo enacted many wiſe laws. Having ſuffered unjuſtly, he was honoured by the Gods, and his death was revenged by the puniſhment of his murderers. Silenus, nevertheleſs, endeavoured, in like manner, to ridicule him; and many of the Gods urging him to be ſilent, " Let thoſe who ſhall follow," ſaid

feſſed for that God. He choſe him for his tutelar deity, as Julian did afterwards.

TACITUS, a prince truly reſpectable, and worthy of the ſenate who choſe him, ought to have been placed at the feaſt of the Cæſars. Nevertheleſs, he is not even named. Is the omiſſion owing to Julian, or the tranſcribers? As Tacitus reigned only ſix months, I will not venture to determine. As to his brother, Florian, who reigned only three, or perhaps two, and who, beſides, took poſſeſſion of the empire, as of an inheritance, without being choſen by the ſenate, or even propoſed by the army, he deſerved to be omitted. LA BLETERIE.

* Aurelian adored that Deity as the parent of his life and fortunes. His mother had been an inferior prieſteſs in a chapel of the Sun: a peculiar devotion to the God of light was a ſentiment which the fortunate peaſant imbibed in his infancy, and every ſtep of his elevation, every victory of his reign, fortified ſuperſtition by gratitude. GIBBON.

he,

he, "grow wiser by his example. Dost thou "not know, O PROBUS, that physicians make bitter "potions palatable, by infusing them in mead? "But thou, who wert always so severe and cruel "that none could equal thee *, hast suffered, how- "ever unjustly, in like manner. For no one can "govern brutes, much less men, but by sometimes "gratifying and indulging them; as physicians "humour their patients in trifles, that they may "insure their compliance in things essential." 'What! dear father,' said Bacchus; 'do you now 'play the philosopher upon us?' "Why not?" replied Silenus. "Were not you too, my son, "instructed by me in philosophy? Know you not "that Socrates also held, like me, the first rank "in philosophy among his contemporaries, if you "credit the oracle of Delphi? Allow me therefore "to speak not always jocosely, but sometimes "seriously."

While they were thus talking, CARUS with his sons [CARINUS and NUMERIAN] would have

* This censure of Silenus is extravagant. Probus can only be reproached for having enforced military discipline with a strictness of which the Roman armies were no longer capable. In time of peace he employed them in useful labours. One day happening to say inadvertently, that "there should soon be no more need of soldiers," this expression cost him his life. The same army, however, who had murdered him, erected a monument to him, with this inscription: *Hic Probus Imperator et verè Probus situs est, victor omnium gentium barbararum, etiam tyrannorum.*

LA BLETERIE.

entered,

entered, had not Nemesis repulsed them *. DIOCLETIAN †, accompanied by the two MAXI-

* History represents Carus as a prince above mediocrity: *virum medium, inter bonos, magis quàm inter malos, collocandum.* But he had the misfortune to succeed Probus, and to have Carinus for his son. On the other hand, he defeated the Persians, and took Seleucia and Ctesiphon, when a flash of lightning terminated his conquests and his life. It must not, however, be said that the sentence of Julian is too severe, as Carus dared to assume, or suffered flattery to give him, the title of "Lord and God." Besides, Julian thought perhaps that Carus was guilty of the death of his predecessor Probus; but the fact is at least doubtful. His second son, Numerian, was not unworthy of a place at the banquet. History speaks of him advantageously. As to what is said of Carinus, the justice of Nemesis cannot but be applauded. LA BLETERIE.

† Diocletian reigned for twenty years with great prosperity and address; but he disgraced the latter part of his reign by the most barbarous of all persecutions. He was a soldier of fortune, and having learned nothing but the art of war, he was a profound politician, and had a subtle genius that penetrated every thing, but was itself impenetrable. He always attended to what was solid. His projects, though grand and vast, were never chimerical, unless it were that of extinguishing the Christian name; yet of that he was not the author. He had the art of doing good himself, and of employing others to do evil. Being master of his passions, he could disguise all his vices, except pride, which made him introduce into the court of the emperors the ceremonial of the court of Persia. He should be considered as the founder of a new empire, which had not, it may be said, any thing in common with that which was founded by Augustus, but the name. The effective partition of the provinces subject to the Romans annihilated the ancient plan, and gave the finishing stroke to the senate, which till then had always had an influence in public affairs, and whose authority was much restored after the death of Aurelian. The aversion of Diocletian to the city of Rome prepared the great event of the foundation of Constantinople. *Ibid.*

MIAN-

MIANS, and my grandfather CONSTANTIUS *, then approached, magnificently dreſſed. Theſe, though they held each other by the hand, did not walk on a line with DIOCLETIAN. Three others † alſo ſur-

*. Conſtantius-Chlorus.

† Diocletian firſt divided the empire with Maximian, afterwards ſurnamed Herculius, his old friend, a great general, very liberal, and not deficient in genius; but unpoliſhed and cruel, without education, and without manners. They gave in conjunction the title of Cæſar to Conſtantius-Chlorus and Maximian-Galerius, and divided the Roman empire, which was governed by two Emperors and two Cæſars, into four parts.

Conſtantius-Chlorus was the only one of the four who was of high birth. With all the talents of his collegues, he had none of their faults. His ſole ambition was to make his people happy. No prince ever loved money ſo little, or was ſo much loved by his ſubjects. Through fear of oppreſſing them, he denied himſelf neceſſaries. Such is the picture that is drawn of him even by the authors who have written ſince his family has been extinct.

As for Maximian-Galerius, ſurnamed *Armentarius*, or "the Herdſman," he was rather a Barbarian than a Roman. He had great talents for war, and all imaginable vices, which he nevertheleſs concealed a little; ſo much was he afraid of Diocletian. He had almoſt an equal hatred to the Chriſtian religion and to learning, and forced Diocletian to become a perſecutor. Theſe four princes governed with a perfect union, whoſe tie was the reſpect which Maximian-Herculius, and the two Cæſars, had for Diocletian, whom they regarded as their father, and almoſt as their God. Diocletian, on his ſide, did not exalt himſelf above them; and, in particular, he took care to ſtifle bad reports. What Julian here ſays of the modeſty of that prince and his collegues admits, however, of ſome exception. Diocletian ſometimes treated Galerius with great haughtineſs; and Galerius, tired of trembling before him, made him tremble in his turn, and forced him to abdicate the empire. Diocletian and Herculius quitted the purple on the ſame day; the firſt at Nicomedia, and the other

ſurrounded him, in the manner of a chorus; but when, like harbingers, they would have preceded him, he forbade them, not thinking himſelf entitled to any diſtinction. Transferring only to them a burthen which he had borne on his own ſhoulders, he walked with much greater eaſe. Admiring their union, the Gods aſſigned them a ſeat ſuperior to many. But MAXIMIAN * behaving with imprudence and haughtineſs, Silenus, though he did not think him worthy of ridicule, would not admit him into the ſociety of the Emperors. And, beſides, he was not only addicted to all kinds of laſciviouſneſs, but by his impertinent officiouſneſs and perfidy often interrupted the harmonious concert. Nemeſis therefore ſoon baniſhed him, and whither he went I know not, as I forgot to aſk Mercury.

other at Milan. The abdication of Diocletian has been conſidered as the greateſt effort of human virtue; nevertheleſs, it was not ſo voluntary as is generally ſuppoſed. But he made it honeſtly, and without return; wiſer than Herculius, who, after reſuming the purple, and occaſioning many diſturbances, was obliged to deſtroy himſelf.

LA BLETERIE.

* I know not why Julian excludes only one of the two Maximians. As a proof that neither of them deſerved to be admitted, we do not immediately diſcover which he means. However, as this Maximian alone diſturbed the concert formed by the union of Diocletian and his colleagues, Julian muſt neceſſarily ſpeak of Maximian-Galerius. He died at Sardis, of a dreadful diſorder, conſidering his death as a puniſhment of the cruelties which he had exerciſed againſt the Chriſtians. *Ibid.*

To

To this moſt melodious tetrachord a harſh, diſagreeable, and diſcordant ſound ſucceeded *. Two of the candidates Nemeſis would not ſuffer to approach even the door of the aſſembly. LICINIUS came thus far, but having been guilty of many crimes, he was repulſed by Minos. CONSTANTINE entered, and ſat ſome time; and near him ſat his

* Diocletian had flattered himſelf that the partition of the empire between two Emperors and two Cæſars would ſubſiſt in future; but one of the chagrins which he felt in his retirement was the ambition and miſunderſtanding of his ſucceſſors, each of whom thought only of making himſelf maſter of the whole empire. Thoſe whom Julian has here in view are Maxentius, Maximin-Daïa, Licinius, and Conſtantine.

Maxentius, the ſon, or ſuppoſed ſon, of Maximian-Herculius, was a prince ill-made, without genius, cowardly, ſlothful, cruel, debauched. When he harangued his ſoldiers, it was to exhort them to make good cheer, to ſpend money, to enjoy life; *fruimini*. He obliged Sophronia, daughter of the governor of Rome, to renew the tragical hiſtory of Lucretia. It is well known that he periſhed in the Tiber, in his endeavour to deſtroy Conſtantine.

Maximin-Daïa, as deſpicable as Maxentius, and a ſtill more cruel perſecutor than his uncle Maximian-Galerius, being vanquiſhed by Licinius, eſcaped to the city of Tarſus, and took poiſon at the end of a great entertainment. This poiſon, failing of its entire effect, occaſioned him a horrible and long malady. I do not find in all antiquity a death more ſhocking than his.

Though Licinius had courage and ſucceſs in war, he was ſtill more wicked than Maximin. He conſidered literature as the peſt of a ſtate. Conſtantine vanquiſhed him, obliged him to quit the purple, and, ſoon after, deprived him of life. Of Conſtantine and his ſons more in the ſequel. LA BLETERIE.

sons. As for MAGNENTIUS *, he was refused admittance, because he had never done any thing laudable, though many of his actions might appear brilliant. But the Gods, perceiving that they did not flow from a good principle, dismissed him much afflicted.

* Magnentius, who derived his origin from the Franks and the Saxons, served with reputation in the Roman troops, when he assumed the purple at Autun, and caused the Emperor Constans to be put to death. He was vanquished by Constantius in the battle of Mursa in 352, and in the following year, through fear of falling into the hands of the conqueror, he killed himself in the Gauls, after having killed all his family. He had professed Christianity, though he was perhaps a Pagan in his heart. Courage is ascribed to him, or that which often produces the same effect, the art of concealing his timidity, with a taste for books, learning, a lively and animated eloquence, and respect and zeal for the laws, when they were no obstacle to his ambitious projects. No writer charges him with debauchery, and this silence expresses much. Such vices, however, are given him as are always given to unsuccessful usurpers. Julian, in particular, elsewhere paints Magnentius in the most hideous colours; but it is in his panegyrics of Constantius. The opinion which he forms here seems much more credible, and sufficiently agrees with that of Zosimus. "Magnentius," says that historian (*l.* ii.) "was bold in "prosperity, and timid in adversity. He knew so well "how to disguise his natural perverseness, that those "who did not know him took him for a man of simplicity and of an excellent character. I think myself "obliged to make this remark," continues Zosimus, "because some have thought that he governed the state "well. Let them be no longer deceived in him. Magnentius "did nothing from good motives, from a principle of "virtue." Let us observe, by the way, that the true or false idea which Julian gives of Magnentius is exactly the same which we ought to have of Julian.

LA BLETERIE.

In

In this manner was the banquet prepared. At the table of the Gods nothing was wanting, for all things are theirs. But that of the heroes Mercury thought imperfect, and Jupiter was of the same opinion. Quirinus had long requested to introduce another of his descendants. But Hercules said, "I will not suffer it, Quirinus. For "why have you not invited my ALEXANDER also "to the feast? If therefore, Jupiter, you intend "to enroll any of the heroes among us, send, "I intreat you, for ALEXANDER. When we "are canvassing the merits of men, why should "the bravest be omitted?" What the son of Alcmena proposed was approved by Jupiter. ALEXANDER therefore entered the assembly of heroes; but neither CÆSAR, nor any one else, rose up to him; so that he was obliged to take the seat which the eldest son of SEVERUS had left vacant *, he, for his fratricide, having been expelled.

* What is the reason that Alexander takes the seat intended for Caracalla, when there are so many others vacant? This is one of those little circumstances that give narrations a greater air of truth. Besides, this recalls some facts. Caracalla was inflamed with a foolish passion for Alexander. Not contented with filling the cities, the temples, Rome, and the capitol with the statues of that prince, with having a phalanx whose officers bore the names of the generals of Alexander, and dressing in the Macedonian manner, he endeavoured to identify himself with his hero in some fantastic pictures, where the face was composed of half that of Alexander and half that of his own. He persecuted the Peripatetic philosophers, because Aristotle was suspected of being concerned in the death of that conqueror. LA BLETERIE.

Silenus

Silenus then scoffing at Quirinus, said, 'Take care, 'or this one Greek will excell all your Romans.' "By Jove," replied Quirinus, "I think that many "of them are, in every respect, his equals. My "posterity indeed have so much admired him, that "of foreign generals they style and think him "only great; not that they deem him superior to "their countrymen, or are void of national preju-"dice. But that we shall soon determine when we "have brought their merits to the test!" Saying this, Quirinus blushed *, and seemed evidently anxious for his descendants.

After this, Jupiter asked the Gods, whether all should enter the lists, or whether they should adopt the practice observed in wrestling, where whoever conquers him who has gained the most victories is deemed the only victor, even of those who have been vanquished by his antagonist, though they have not been his competitors? This was generally approved, as a just determination. Mercury then proclaimed that CÆSAR should advance first, OCTAVIANUS next, and TRAJAN third, those being the greatest warriors. Silence being commanded, Saturn, turning to Jupiter, expressed his surprise at seeing martial Emperors summoned to this contest,

* We must not forget that Julian is a Greek to the bottom of his soul. His only comfort in being a Roman was his having been born at Byzantium, and his considering Rome as a colony of Greeks. LA BLETERIE.

but no philosophers *. "These," he said, "are "equally dear to me. Call therefore, and intro- "duce MARCUS [AURELIUS]." He being summoned, advanced with a serious aspect †, occasioned by the labours of his mind. His eyes were hollow, his brow was contracted ‡, and his whole form displayed unstudied beauty; for his hair was uncombed, his beard was long, his dress simple and œconomical, and by scanty nourishment § his body

* It is right for Saturn, a pacific God, and the father of the golden age, to be interested for philosophical princes, and for Marcus Aurelius in particular, the greatest philosopher of them all; who, in spite of the various scourges with which the empire was afflicted in his time, promoted the happiness of the Romans. It is said of this Emperor, that Providence gave him to mankind in mercy, to temper the severity of the chastisements which it had inflicted upon them in justice. LA BLETERIE.

† It is pretended, that, even in his childhood, neither joy nor sorrow ever made him change countenance: but his gravity had nothing in it sad or austere. *Sine tristitiâ gravis.* *Ibid.*

‡ He is thus represented on his medals, especially those which were struck in the latter years of his life. *Ibid.*

§ At the age of twelve years, Marcus Aurelius took the habit of a philosopher, and soon after he was desirous of practising all the austerities of the Stoic philosophy, even to the lying on the ground under his cloak. His mother used her utmost endeavours to persuade him to lie on a wooden bedsted covered with a single skin. A life so hardy made no abatement in the sweetness of his temper, but it impaired his health. Nevertheless, his habitual infirmities never prevented him from fulfilling all his duties, and from finding time besides for study. His soul appeared to have gained what his body had lost.

Julian piqued himself on being an imitator of Marcus Aurelius, slept hardly, and lived on vegetables. Some of the

body was tranſparent and ſplendid, like the pureſt and cleareſt light. When he was admitted within the ſacred incloſure, Bacchus ſaid, " King Saturn " and Father Jupiter, can any thing imperfect be " allowed among the Gods?" No anſwer being returned, " Let us ſend then," proceeded he, " for ſome lover of pleaſure." ' But,' replied Jupiter, ' it is not lawful for any one to be admitted ' here who does not worſhip us *.' " Let judgment " therefore," ſaid Bacchus, " be pronounced on " him in the veſtibule. We will call, with your " leave, a prince, not indeed unwarlike †, but " ſoftened

the Epiſtles of Julian give us reaſon to think that he was frequently ill. But it is more eaſy to wear the beard of Marcus Aurelius, to copy his auſterities, and to ruin one's health, like him, than to acquire his ſolidity of genius, his love of virtue for virtue's ſake, his contempt of glory, and, if I may venture ſo to expreſs myſelf, that ſobriety of wiſdom, which was the foundation of his character.

La Bleterie.

* Ου θεμιτον εστω φοιτην ανδρι μη τα ημετερα ζηλουντι. M. de la Bleterie tranſlates this, " Whoever does not take us for " his model cannot ſet foot here;" but I underſtand it, " Whoever is not a worſhipper of us," &c. in alluſion to Conſtantine, who was a Chriſtian. It is obſervable, however, that Conſtantine and his ſons are before mentioned as entering the aſſembly and ſitting ſome time.

† If Conſtantine had been a ſlave to his pleaſures, ſo far as to deſerve, though he had declared for Chriſtianity, the protection of Bacchus, he would not have been ſo diſtinguiſhed in war and in peace; he would not have reigned ſo glorioufly for more than thirty years, that is, much longer than any Emperor had reigned ſince Auguſtus. This general reflection may be ſufficient to ſhew the injuſtice of Julian. Hiſtory repreſents Conſtantine to us as a prince always engaged in ſome uſeful project, giving frequent au-

" ſoftened by pleaſure and enjoyment. Let CON-
" STANTINE come as far as the veſtibule."

This

diences, drawing up his laws and diſpatches himſelf, borrowing from his ſleep time to read the holy ſcriptures, and to compoſe ſome religious diſcourſes, which he pronounced in public, endeavouring to obtain the aſſiſtance of Heaven by prayer, faſting, and abſtinence from lawful pleaſures.

If we deduct from theſe elogiums whatever may be taken from panegyrics, if we ſet aſide the good that is ſaid of him by Chriſtian writers, and even the praiſes that are given him by ſuch of the Pagans as may be ſuſpected of flattery, having written in his reign, or in that of his ſons, I mean Libanius, and the hiſtorian Praxagoras; in a word, if Conſtantine be judged by the teſtimony of Eutropius, who dedicates his work to Valens, and by what is ſaid of him by that Victor who wrote in the reign of the ſons of Theodoſius I. the reſult will be, that Conſtantine was a prince of an elevated genius, active, vigilant, laborious, and, even independently of what he did for the Chriſtian religion, and notwithſtanding the blemiſhes that are found in his life, that he deſerved the title of Great. The teſtimony of thoſe authors is the more important, as they ſpare neither his faults nor failings.

Zoſimus, a partial writer, and the declared enemy of the Chriſtian Emperors, is the only one, beſides Julian, who accuſes him of being devoted to pleaſures. Yet Zoſimus throws this reproach only on the latter years of his reign. In fact Conſtantine could have given no pretext for that accuſation till after the foundation of New Rome. Tired of wars, and even of victories, he thought that he had acquired a right to taſte the fruit of his labours. Without remaining in inactivity, or living in voluptuouſneſs (for, to the end of his life, he employed himſelf in affairs of ſtate, and in thoſe of the church), he gave ſome brilliant entertainments. His court was magnificent; he procured himſelf ſome amuſements that had nothing criminal in the eyes of the world, and which perhaps he thought were allowed him becauſe he had not yet been baptiſed.

It

This being allowed (the mode of their contention having been previouſly ſettled) Mercury adviſed, that every one ſhould ſeverally ſpeak for himſelf, and that the Gods ſhould then give their votes. But of this Apollo diſapproved, inſiſting, that truth only, and not eloquence, or the charms of oratory, ought to be diſcuſſed and examined by the Gods. Jupiter, wiſhing to oblige all, and, at the ſame time, deſirous to prolong the aſſembly, replied, "There can be no inconvenience in di-" recting each of them to ſpeak by a certain " meaſure of water *, and afterwards we may " interrogate them and ſcrutiniſe their thoughts." Silenus jocoſely added, 'Take care, Neptune, or 'TRAJAN and ALEXANDER †, miſtaking the water 'for

It is ſuppoſed that the imagination and malignity of Julian working on this canvas might make Conſtantine a ſlave to pleaſure. Let us never forget that Julian deteſted his uncle as the deſtroyer of Paganiſm; and that he was by taſte, by principle, by vanity, an enemy to all pleaſures. How much muſt the magnificence of Conſtantine have wounded a man who gave into the oppoſite extreme, who carried philoſophy to ſuch an exceſs, as to deſpiſe decorum, and who, by the manners which he aſcribes to himſelf in the Miſopogon, ſeems to have been deſirous that his picture ſhould be the companion of that of Diogenes!

LA BLETERIE.

* When the Greeks and Romans would give orators a certain fixed time, they employed hour-glaſſes of water, to which they gave the name of *clepſydræ*, which the modern Latiniſts apply very improperly to our ſands. *Ibid.*.

† It is well known that Alexander was very fond of wine, and that in drunkenneſs he was capable of the

' for nectar, will ſwallow it all, and ſo leave none ' for the reſt.' Neptune anſwered, " They were " much more fond of your draughts, Silenus, " than of mine. It behoves you therefore to be " rather afraid of your own vines than of my " ſprings." Silenus was chagrined, and made no reply, but afterwards attended ſolely to the diſputants. Mercury then proclaimed,

* ' The arbiter of prizes due
' To ſignal merit now begins.
' Delay no longer, Time exhorts,
' But lend your ears to what the voice
' Of herald Mercury proclaims.
' Ye kings, to whoſe ſuperior ſway
' Of old ſubmiſſive nations bow'd,
' Who launch'd in fight the hoſtile ſpear,

greateſt exceſſes. His laſt debauch coſt him his life. As for Trajan, he was obliged to forbid the execution of any orders which he might give at coming from a great entertainment. One of the methods of which Hadrian availed himſelf to gain his friendſhip was to carouſe with him at table. LA BLETERIE.

* See Lucian, at the end of his Demonjacs. PETAU.

The three firſt lines only (in the original) are quoted from that work.

This proclamation, in the taſte of thoſe which were made in Greece at the opening of the games, conſiſts of forms uſed on thoſe occaſions, and of ends of verſes taken from the Greek poets that we have, and thoſe whom we have not. This kind of cento has in the original, or rather had, a merit which we may imagine, but which it is impoſſible to transfuſe into another language. LA BLETERIE.

M. de la Bleterie has only given the ſenſe. The Engliſh is almoſt literal.

' Advance,

'Advance, contend, with prudent minds
'Oppoſe your rivals, and await
'The juſt, th' impartial will of Heaven!
'Wiſdom theſe think the end of life,
'Thoſe, vengeance on their foes to wreak,
'And ſerve their friends: of life, of toil,
'Pleaſure ſome make the ſingle view,
'Feaſts, nuptials, all that feeds their eyes:
'From dainty ornaments of dreſs,
'Or rings, with precious gems adorn'd,
'Others ſuperior bliſs derive.
'Jove will the victory decree.'

Mercury having made this proclamation, the combatants drew lots: and the lot happened to concur with the love of pre-eminence habitual to CÆSAR. This augmented his pride and arrogance; ſo that ALEXANDER would have declined the conteſt, had he not been encouraged and perſuaded by Hercules. ALEXANDER obtained the next turn of ſpeaking after CÆSAR. When all the reſt had had their proper turns aſſigned them, CÆSAR thus began:

"It was my good fortune, O Jupiter and ye "Gods, to be born, after many heroes, in that "illuſtrious city, which has extended her do- "minion farther than any other; ſo that they all "may be ſatisfied, if they obtain the ſecond place. "For what other city, deducing its origin from "three thouſand men, has, in leſs than ſix hun- "dred years, carried its conqueſts to the utmoſt

" extremities of the earth? What other nation has
" produced so many distinguished warriors and
" legislators, or such devout worshippers of the
" Gods? Born in a city so renowned, I surpassed,
" by my actions, not only my contemporaries, but
" all the heroes that ever lived. Of my own
" countrymen I know not one that will deny me
" the superiority. But as this Grecian is so pre-
" sumptuous, which of his actions will he pretend
" to put in competition with mine? His Persian
" trophies perhaps, as if he knew not how many
" I won from Pompey. And who was the most ex-
" perienced general, Pompey or Darius? Which of
" them commanded the bravest troops? Instead of
" the refuse of mankind, Pompey had in his army
" more warlike nations than were ever subject to
" Darius; of Europeans, those who had often
" routed the hostile Asiatics, and of them the
" most valiant; Italians, Illyrians, and Gauls.
" Having mentioned the Gauls, can the Getic
" exploits of ALEXANDER be compared with my
" conquest of Gaul? He passed the Danube once;
" I twice passed the Rhine; and of my German
" victories no one can dispute the glory. I fought
" with Ariovistus *.

" I was the first Roman who dared to cross the
" German ocean †. Though this was a wonder-

* The antithesis is this: " Alexander met with no op-
" position in his Getic expedition, and therefore he
" marched with impunity. But I was resisted by Ariovistus."
PETAU.

† In the original, τῆς ἐκτὸς θαλάσσης, " the outward sea." The inner was the Mediterranean.

" ful

" ful atchievement, however it may be admired,
" more glorious was my intrepidity in being the
" firſt who leaped on ſhore *. Of the Helvetic
" and Iberian nations I ſay nothing; nor have I
" mentioned my actions in Gaul, where I took
" above three hundred towns †, and defeated two
" millions of men. Great as theſe actions were,
" that which followed was greater and more il-
" luſtrious. Being obliged to wage war with my
" fellow-citizens, I vanquiſhed the unconquered
" and invincible Romans. If we ſhould be judged
" by the number of our battles, I fought thrice
" as many as are aſcribed to ALEXANDER by his
" greateſt panegyriſts; if by the number of towns
" taken, not in Aſia only, but alſo in Europe, I
" reduced more. ALEXANDER ſaw and traverſed
" Ægypt; I, while I feaſted there, ſubdued it.
" Will you alſo compare the clemency of each of
" us, when victorious? I pardoned my enemies,

* He alludes here to the deſcent which Cæſar made on Britain. But the memory of Julian deceives him. He attributes to Cæſar what Cæſar himſelf ſays (*l.* v. *de bello Gallico*) of the eagle-bearer of the tenth legion. " He " who bore the eagle of the tenth legion, after beſeeching " the Gods, that the event might be proſperous to the " legion, ſaid, ' Leap aſhore, ſoldiers, unleſs you would ' betray the eagle to the enemy.' " Saying this, with a " loud voice, he threw himſelf out of the ſhip, and ad- " vanced with the eagle towards the enemy, &c." It was Alexander, who, after paſſing the Helleſpont, firſt leaped aſhore completely armed. Such a proceeding is more ſuitable to the impetuous valour of Alexander than to the phlegmatic and ſedate courage of Cæſar. LA BLETERIE.

† See Plutarch.

" and received from them such a return as Nemesis
" has revenged. He never spared his enemies, nor
" even his friends. In particular, as you dispute
" the pre-eminence, and will not immediately yield
" to me, like the rest, you compel me to mention
" your cruel behaviour to the Thebans *. On
" the contrary, how great was my humanity to
" the Helvetii! The cities of the former were
" burnt by you; the cities of the latter, burnt by
" their own inhabitants, were rebuilt by me †.
" Which, in short, was most illustrious; your
" defeating ten thousand Greeks, or my repulsing
" the attacks of a hundred and fifty thousand Ro-
" mans? Much more could I add, both of ALEX-
" ANDER and myself; but as I never had leisure
" to study the art of oratory ‡, you must excuse
" me, and, forming a just and impartial judge-
" ment both from what I have said, and what I
" have omitted, will, I doubt not, give me the
" superiority."

* When Alexander took Thebes by storm, the inhabitants were slain and destroyed for several hours without regard to sex or age; and the city was afterwards razed, the house of Pindar only excepted.

† The Helvetii having abandoned their country, and burnt their towns, as they were preparing to enter Gaul, were defeated by Cæsar, sent back to their country, and ordered to re-build their houses.

‡ In the original, το λεγειν εξεμελετησα, or εξεμελησα. Perhaps he does not mean to say, that Cæsar had no excellence in speaking; for he was reckoned among the orators of his time; witness Cicero, in his Brutus; but that he was not used to speak without premeditation.

CANTOCLARUS.

CÆSAR

CÆSAR thus concluded, but seeming desirous of saying still more; ALEXANDER, who before had with difficulty restrained himself, could refrain no longer, but, with much anxiety and emotion, thus began:

"How long, O Jupiter and ye Gods, shall I "silently bear the insolence of this boaster *! He "sets no bounds, you see, to his praise of himself, "or to his abuse of me. Much better would it "have become him to have abstained equally from "both, as both are alike intolerable, but chiefly "that of depreciating my conduct, which he made "the example of his own. Such is his assurance, "that he has dared to ridicule his own model. "You should have recollected, CÆSAR, the tears "which you shed on hearing of the memorials "that were raised in honour of my deeds †. But "you afterwards owed your elevation to Pompey, "who, though he was really insignificant ‡, was "idolised by his countrymen. As to his African

* This is not unlike the beginning of Cicero's Oration against Catiline, *Quousque tandem abutêre, Catilina, patientiâ nostrâ?*

† At Gades, observing in the temple of Hercules a statue of Alexander the Great, he sighed, and, as if ashamed of his own supineness in having done nothing memorable at an age when Alexander had conquered the world, he importunately urged to be recalled to Rome, that he might be ready on the spot to embrace any occasion that might offer for more important undertakings. *Sueton. Jul. Cæsar. c.* 7. See also Plutarch.

‡ It is plain that Julian had read the Epistles of Cicero to Atticus. LA BLETERIE.

" triumph *, no great exploit, his fame was owing " to the weakneſs and inactivity of the conſuls †. " The ſervile war ‡ was not waged with men, but " with the moſt abandoned ſlaves, and it was con- " ducted by Craſſus and Lucius §, though Pompey " had the name and the reputation. Armenia and " the neighbouring provinces were conquered by " Lucullus; yet for theſe alſo Pompey triumphed. " He was then flattered by his fellow-citizens, " and named the Great. But than whom of his " predeceſſors was he greater? Which of his " actions is comparable to thoſe of Marius, or of " the two Scipios? or of Camillus, who was almoſt " as much the founder of Rome as this Quirinus, " having rebuilt his city when it was almoſt falling? " For they did not arrogate to themſelves the " works of others, as is uſual in buildings founded " and finiſhed at the public expence, where the " magiſtrate, who has only plaiſtered the walls, " on completing the edifice, inſcribes the foun- " dation-ſtone. But theſe heroes, as public ar- " tificers and architects, have juſtly immortaliſed " their own names. It is no wonder therefore, " that you vanquiſhed Pompey, ſcratching his

* Pompey, at the age of twenty-nine, when he was only a knight, was ſent into Africa to encounter the party of Marius. LA BLETERIE.

† M. Tullius Decula and Cn. Cornelius Dolabella.

‡ The war of Spartacus.

§ Lucius Gellius. See Plutarch's Life of Craſſus, and Appian, *Bell. Civil.* I.

" head,

" head *, and more reſembling a fox than a lion. " When he was deſerted by Fortune, who had " long favoured him, you eaſily conquered him " ſingle. But that your ſucceſs was owing to no " ſuperior abilities is evident; for being in want " of proviſions (which, you know, is no ſmall fault " of a general †), you fought, and were defeated ‡. " And if Pompey, by his imprudence, or folly, or " becauſe he could not govern his army, when he " ſhould have protracted the war, gave battle §, " and did not purſue his victory, his failure was " the conſequence of his own miſconduct, not of " your military ſkill. The Perſians, on the con- " trary, though in every reſpect well prepared and " amply provided, ſubmitted to my dominion. " And as it becomes a good man and a wiſe

* In the original, δακτύλῳ κνωμένη, which the French tranſlator has paraphraſed, " who, for fear of diſarranging " his hair, did not venture to touch his head but with his " finger's end." Yet Ammianus (xvii. 11.) mentioning two ludicrous faults that the envious imputed to Pompey, ſays that this was one, *quod genuino quodam more caput uno digito ſcalpebat*; " that he ſcratched his head, in a par- " ticular manner, with one of his fingers."

† Julian himſelf committed the ſame fault in his Perſian expedition.

‡ At the battle of Dyrrhachium.

§ This interpretation agrees better with the ſenſe, and with hiſtory, than the proper ſignification of the Greek words, [which is, " when he ſhould have declined to give " battle."] For certain it is, from Appian, Plutarch, and other writers, that Pompey did not act like a prudent general in offering battle to Cæſar at Pharſalia, when Cæſar was in ſuch a ſituation, that he muſt eaſily have been reduced by his want of neceſſaries. CANTOCLARUS.

" prince

" prince to act not only with moderation, but with " juſtice, I took arms to revenge the Greeks on " the Perſians, and to free Greece from civil war. " Nor was it ever my intention to ravage Greece, " but thoſe only, who would have prevented my " march againſt Perſia, I chaſtiſed. You, after " ſubduing the Gauls and Germans, turned your " arms againſt your own country. What can be " worſe, what more infamous?

" You have mentioned, with a ſneer, 'my de-' feating ten thouſand Greeks.' " That you your- " ſelves ſprung from the Greeks, and that the " Greeks inhabited the greateſt part of Italy, I " well know; but on this I will not inſiſt. With " a ſmall nation of them, the Ætolians, your " neighbours, you thought it of great conſequence " to make an alliance; but after they had fought " for you, why did you reduce them, and that " not eaſily, to ſubjection? If then, in the old age, " as it has been called, of Greece, you could " ſcarce reduce, not the whole, but one ſmall " nation, which was ſcarce known when Greece " was in her vigour, what would have been the " event, if you had been obliged to contend with " the Greeks when flouriſhing and united? How " much you were alarmed by the invaſion of " Pyrrhus you need not be reminded. As you " think the conqueſt of Perſia ſuch a trifle, and " depreciate an enterpriſe ſo glorious, tell me " why, after a war of above two thouſand years, " you have never ſubdued a ſmall province be-

" yond

" yond the Tigris *, ſubject to the Parthians? " Shall I inform you? The darts of the Perſians " prevented you. Antony, who ſerved under " your command, can give you an account of " them †. But in leſs than ten years I conquered " both Perſia and India. After this, do you dare " to contend with me, who, trained to war from " my childhood, performed ſuch deeds, that the " remembrance of them, though they have not " been ſufficiently celebrated by hiſtorians, will " live for ever, like thoſe of the invincible Her- " cules, of whom I was the follower and imitator? " I rivalled, in ſhort, my anceſtor Achilles, and, " admiring Hercules, I trod in his ſteps as nearly " as a mortal can follow a God. Thus much, O " ye Gods, it was neceſſary for me to ſay in my " own defence againſt an opponent, whom per- " haps it might have been better to have ſilently " deſpiſed. If I was guilty of any cruelties, the

* Meaning Babylonia, where the Romans never made any ſolid conqueſt. It was the northern part of Meſopotamia. LA BLETERIE.

† Antony, having entered Media, thought himſelf happy to eſcape with the remains of his army, after loſing twenty thouſand men, and all his baggage. Julian might have quoted many other Roman generals and Emperors [Craſſus in particular], who were worſe treated even than Antony, in their expeditions againſt the Parthians, or Perſians. But he did not foreſee that he himſelf would ſoon add to the number of thoſe unfortunate heroes. *Ibid.*

It is impoſſible to read the intereſting narrative of Plutarch (tom. v. p. 102—116.) without perceiving that Mark Antony and Julian were purſued by the ſame enemies, and involved in the ſame diſtreſs. GIBBON.

" innocent

" innocent were not the objects, but such as had " frequently and notoriously offended, and had " made no proper use of their opportunities. " And my offences even against them were fol- " lowed by Repentance *, a very wise Goddess, " and the preserver of those who have erred. As " for my chastising the ambitious, who always " hated and had often injured me, in that I " thought myself excusable."

This military harangue being concluded, the attendant of Neptune gave the hour-glass to OCTAVIANUS, measuring to him a very small quantity of water, and at the same time, reminding him of his insolence to that Deity †. On which having reflected with his usual sagacity, omitting to say any thing of others, he thus began:

" Instead of depreciating the actions of others, " O Jupiter and ye Gods, I will confine my whole " speech to what concerns myself. In my youth

* Μεταμέλεια. This Goddess, thus deified by Julian, seems rather taken from the Christian scriptures, than the Heathen mythology. The French translator styles her *Métanée*, from Μετανοια, and " a celebrated retreat for pe- " nitents, known in Ecclesiastical history by the name of " *la Métanée*."

† In the war which Octavius waged against Sextus Pompey, many reproach him as well for some of his expressions, as for his conduct, having said, when his fleet was lost in a storm, that " he would gain the victory even " in spite of Neptune." And accordingly, when the Circensian games were next performed, he excluded the image of that God from the solemnity. *Suet. Aug. c.* XVI.

Julian himself, in like manner, swore afterwards, in a passion, that he would never sacrifice again to Mars. See *Ammianus*, XXIV. 6.

" I had

" I had the government of my native city, like " this illuſtrious ALEXANDER. The German wars, " like my father CÆSAR, I happily concluded. " Involved in civil diſſenſions, I ſubdued Ægypt " at Actium in a ſea-fight. I defeated Brutus and " Caſſius at Philippi, and I made the ſon of Pom- " pey contribute to my glory. Such, however, " was my attachment to philoſophy, that, inſtead " of being diſguſted at the freedom aſſumed by " Athenodorus *, I was pleaſed with it, and re- " vered him as a preceptor, or rather as a parent. " Areus † alſo was my friend and confident. And, " upon the whole, I was never guilty of the leaſt

* A very bold action is related of this philoſopher: Auguſtus, whoſe behaviour was never very guarded, ſometimes made ſome private aſſignations which might have been fatal to him. One day, when a Roman lady was to go to the palace incognito, Athenodorus got into a cloſe chair, and ordered himſelf to be carried to the apartment of the Emperor. Then, ſtepping out, with a ſword in his hand, " See," ſaid he, " to what you expoſe yourſelf! " Are you not afraid that ſome republican, or an enraged " huſband, ſhould take ſuch an opportunity of putting " you to death?" Auguſtus thanked the philoſopher for his leſſon, and promiſed to reform. He took greater precautions, no doubt, for the future, but his reformation went no farther. Livia, it is well known, to maintain her aſcendant over him, was obliged to connive at his infidelities. LA BLETERIE.

† Julian in his Epiſtles mentions more than once the philoſopher Areus, and the eſteem which Auguſtus had for him. Certainly if by philoſophy are meant the philoſophers, ſhe cannot but be well ſatisfied with Auguſtus. Such equivocal expreſſions are too common. *Ibid.*

Areus is mentioned in the Epiſtle to Themiſtius, (ſee p. 25. and note *) and in Epiſtle LI.

" offence againſt philoſophy. As Rome, I ſaw, had " been frequently reduced to the laſt extremity by " inteſtine diviſions, I ſo re-eſtabliſhed her affairs, " as to render them, by your aſſiſtance, O ye " Gods, firm and adamantine. Without indulg- " ing an inſatiable ambition, I ſtudiouſly endeav- " oured to enlarge her dominions; but I concurred " with nature in fixing the rivers Danube and " Euphrates as their boundaries. After having ſub- " dued the Scythians and Thracians, I did not " employ the long reign with which you indulged " me in meditating war after war, but devoted my " leiſure to the correction of the evils which war " had occaſioned, and to legiſlation; in which, I " apprehend, I did not conſult the public wel- " fare leſs than my predeceſſors; nay, if I muſt " boldly ſpeak the truth, I conſulted it more than " any who have governed ſuch an empire. For " ſome who have commanded armies, when they " might at length have reſted in peace, have made " one war the pretence for another, as the litigious " contrive law-ſuits. Others, when forced into a " war, have been immerſed in pleaſure *, and have " preferred the moſt infamous purſuits, not only " to their glory, but even to their lives. Well " weighing all theſe things, I do not think myſelf " entitled to the loweſt place. But it becomes " me to acquieſce in whatever you, O ye Gods, " may pleaſe to determine."

* Alluding to Antony.

TRAJAN was appointed to harangue next. Though he had a talent for ſpeaking *, ſuch was his indolence, that he uſually employed Sura to compoſe his orations. Bawling, rather than ſpeaking, he diſplayed to the Gods his Getic and Parthian trophies. He then lamented his old age, as if that had prevented him from extending his Parthian conqueſts. 'You fool,' ſaid Silenus, 'you 'reigned twenty years, and this ALEXANDER only 'twelve. Why, then, do you not condemn your 'own indolence, inſtead of throwing the blame on 'want of time?' Provoked at this taunt, for he was not deficient in eloquence, though it was often blunted by intemperance, TRAJAN added,

"O Jupiter, and ye Gods, when I aſſumed the "reins of government, I found the empire in a "torpid and divided ſtate, occaſioned partly by

* Trajan, it is ſaid, had written the hiſtory of his wars with the Dacians. There is a ſhort Greek epigram by him in the Anthologia. He was not learned; but he eſteemed and favoured men of letters. When he triumphed over the Dacians, he had in his car the ſophiſt Dion, Chryſoſtom, and, during the proceſſion, he frequently turned to ſpeak to him. L. Licinius Sura was the confident of Trajan, who loaded him with riches, and raiſed him thrice to the conſulſhip. The enemies of Sura accuſed him of a deſign againſt the life of the Emperor. Trajan, by way of anſwer, went to ſup with Sura, had his eyes examined by the ſurgeon, and was ſhaved by the barber, of Sura, and ſupped with great gaiety. On the next day he ſaid to the accuſers, "Confeſs that, if Sura wanted to diſ-"patch me, he yeſterday miſſed a fine opportunity." After the death of Sura, Trajan borrowed the pen of Hadrian.

LA BLETERIE.

" the tyranny which had long prevailed at home,
" and partly by the insults of the Getes abroad *.
" I did not hesitate, however, singly to attack the
" nations beyond the Danube. That of the Getes
" I subdued and extirpated; of all the most war-
" like, not only by their bodily strength, but by
" the courage with which they are inspired by the
" doctrine of their renowned Zamolxis †. For the
" firm

* By the Getes may be understood the Dacians. Decebalus, king of the Dacians, had obliged Domitian to purchase a peace, of which he endeavoured to cover the disgrace by a magnificent triumph. " The poets of the " time," says M. de Tillemont, " equalled his pretended " victory to those of Alexander and Cæsar." For that they were paid, or expected to be paid; but the Romans did not give them credit. Trajan, who was not disposed to be tributary to the Barbarians, availing himself of the first infraction which Decebalus made, or seemed to make, of the treaty, marched against the Dacians. They defended themselves with much courage, and even conduct. But at length Decebalus, being reduced to the last extremities, destroyed himself, and Dacia was made a province. LA BLETERIE.

† Zamolxis was the lawgiver of the Getes. [See p. 152.] Some Greeks pretend that he had been the slave of Pythagoras; but Herodotus thinks Zamolxis much more ancient. The opinion of the Getes as to the immortality of the soul had an affinity to the metempsychosis: They said that the dead went to find Zamolxis, and every five years they sent an express to represent to him the exigencies of the nation. See Herod. *l.* IV. 49.

It must not be supposed, that, before Zamolxis, those people believed that the soul perished with the body. Zamolxis only published his own private ideas concerning the state of separate souls. No nation is or ever was persuaded that all ends with death. No nation has received from its lawgivers the belief of another life; the lawgivers have every

" firm perſuaſion that they ſhall not periſh, but " only change their place of abode, makes them " always prepared as for a journey. This enter- " priſe I completed in leſs than five years. Of " all the Emperors who preceded me * not one " was ſo mild to his ſubjects, nor can that be " conteſted with me even with this CÆSAR, be- " fore unrivalled in clemency, nor by any other. " The Parthians, till they inſulted me, I thought it " unjuſt to attack ; but after they had inſulted me, " neither my age, nor the laws which allowed me " to quit the ſervice †, prevented my invading

every where found it. Some have not mentioned this doctrine, becauſe it was ſufficiently eſtabliſhed. Others have mentioned it, not in order to prove it, which was by no means neceſſary, but to particulariſe it, and to diſplay its conſequences. The perſuaſion of the immortality of the ſoul, as well as that of the exiſtence of God, is the tenet of mankind, and the faith of nature. The contrary error is either the frenzy of a philoſopher who chooſes to be ſingular, or the intereſted wiſh of a libertine. LA BLETERIE.

* In the original, Παντων των προ εμε γεγονοτων αυτοκρατορων ωφθην τοις υπηκοοις πραοτατος, " Of all the Emperors who pre- " ceded me I was the mildeſt to my ſubjects." This paſſage, by which Trajan confounds himſelf with his predeceſſors, is ſimilar to that of Milton (noticed by Addiſon in the Spectator, N° 285.) in which Adam and Eve are ranked among their poſterity.

Adam, the goodlieſt man of men ſince born
His ſons, the faireſt of her daughters Eve.

† Regularly, every Roman, after twenty years ſervice, was exempted from bearing arms. Trajan had ſerved from his earlieſt youth. He was fifty-five years old, at leaſt, perhaps fifty-ſeven, when he made war with Coſroes, king of Parthia. LA BLETERIE.

" them. Thus circumſtanced, am not I, who was " eminently mild to my ſubjects and formidable " to my enemies, and who revered your divine " daughter, Philoſophy, juſtly entitled to ſuperior " honours, and even to the firſt rank ?"

TRAJAN having concluded, it was allowed that he excelled all in clemency, a virtue particularly pleaſing to the Gods.

MARCUS AURELIUS then beginning to ſpeak, Silenus ſaid, in a low voice, to Bacchus, ' Let us ' hear which of his wonderful paradoxes and ' aphoriſms this Stoic will produce.' But he, fixing his eyes on Jupiter and the other Gods, thus addreſſed them :

" I have no occaſion, O Jupiter and ye Gods, " to harangue or diſpute. If you were ignorant " of my actions, it would be proper for me to ac- " quaint you with them ; but as you are privy to " them, and nothing is concealed from you, you " will honour me as I deſerve."

Thus MARCUS, as in every thing elſe, ſeemed worthy of admiration for his extraordinary prudence in knowing when to ſpeak, and when to be ſilent *.

* This is an imitation of a verſe of Æſchylus, quoted by Aulus Gellius. In this particular, the pretended copy of Marcus Aurelius did not reſemble his original. Julian ſpoke much and often. *Linguæ fuſioris et admodùm rarò ſilentis*, ſays Ammianus. LA BLETERIE.

CON-

CONSTANTINE * was then ſummoned to ſpeak. He entered the liſts with confidence; but when he reflected on the actions of his competitors, his own ſeemed trivial and inconſiderable. He defeated, it is true, two tyrants †; one of them unwarlike and puſil-

* Every impartial reader muſt perceive and condemn the partiality of Julian againſt his uncle and the Chriſtian religion. On this occaſion the interpreters are compelled, by a more ſacred intereſt, to renounce their allegiance, and deſert the cauſe of their author. GIBBON.

The reflections, or ſarcaſms, on the other candidates are confined to Silenus, or their antagoniſts. On this occaſion Julian is betrayed by his prejudice into a breach of the unity of character before obſerved, by taking, or rather making Mercury, his informant, take a decided part againſt Conſtantine.

† Julian uſes his utmoſt endeavours to depreciate the exploits of his uncle. Conſtantine was a great general; and perhaps his moſt ſubſtantial fault is his having been too warlike. If he had good fortune, he deſerved it; and the Pagans themſelves acknowledged that his talents were equal to his good fortune. *Innumeræ in eo animi corporiſque virtutes claruerunt*, ſays Eutropius. *Militaris gloriæ appetentiſſimus, fortunâ in bellis proſperâ fuit; verùm ita ut non ſuperaret induſtriam.* I know that Maxentius was a kind of Sardanapalus, who, remaining at Rome, while his collegue made war, ſaid, that he alone was Emperor, and that the others were his lieutenants; that he conſidered the going from his palace to the gardens of Salluſt as a long journey, &c. But he had 200,000 troops, a great deal of money, and good officers. "To dethrone him, Conſtantine," ſays a contemporary author, "with an army leſs numerous "than that of Alexander when he marched againſt Darius," that is, with no more than 40,000 men, "muſt have forced "the paſs of Succi, and have gained the battles of Turin, "Breſcia, Verona, and Rome, of which the three firſt, "at leaſt, muſt have been very obſtinate and bloody."

With regard to Licinius, he was not above fifty years old when he was defeated at the battle of Cibal, and about

puſillanimous, the other unfortunate and advanced in years, and both of them odious to Gods and men. As for his exploits againſt the Barbarians, they were ridiculous. For he, in a manner, paid them tribute, to indulge his love of pleaſure. He ſtood therefore at a diſtance from the Gods, near the entrance of the moon, of whom he was enamoured *, and, gazing only on her, was regardleſs of the victory.

How-

ſixty when he loſt the battles of Adrianople and Chryſopolis, which rendered Conſtantine maſter of the empire. Licinius, with all his vices, was brave and ſkilful in the conduct of war. He made his troops obſerve the ancient diſcipline with extreme ſeverity. Whatever Julian may ſay of him, his age had not at all abated his courage, any more than the vigour of his conſtitution. He was always proſperous when he had not Conſtantine to encounter. Add, that the reproach with which ſome writers have branded Conſtantine of breaking his word with Licinius, by putting him to death after having promiſed him life, ſeems removed by the ſilence of Julian. As to the victories which he gained over the Barbarians, that is, over the Franks, the Germans, the Sarmatians, and the Goths, Julian is the only one who deſpiſes thoſe "exploits." It is well known that Conſtantine, far from "paying tribute" to the Barbarians, freed the Romans from that which they paid to the Goths under the honourable name of penſion. But as he took into the ſervice of the empire 40,000 men of that nation, the pay which he gave them is probably that which Julian calls "tribute." LA BLETERIE.

* Why does Julian make Conſtantine "enamoured of "the moon?" This is an ænigma which I have endeavoured to ſolve. Am I ſo fortunate as to have at laſt ſucceeded? The reader ſhall determine. Antiquaries agree, that, from the earlieſt times, the creſcent was the diſtinction, or, as we ſhould now expreſs it, the arms of Byzantium, as it ſtill continues to be of Conſtantinople. Thus, when

However, as it was neceſſary for him to ſpeak, " In theſe particulars," ſaid he, " I am ſuperior " to my opponents; to the Macedonian, in having " fought againſt the Romans, Germans, and Scy- " thians, inſtead of Aſiatic Barbarians; to CÆSAR " and OCTAVIANUS, in not having vanquiſhed, " like them, good and virtuous citizens, but the " moſt cruel and wicked tyrants. To TRAJAN " alſo, for my ſtrenuous exertions againſt tyrants, " I deſerve no leſs to be preferred. To recover " the province * which he conquered ſeems to me " equally

when Julian reproaches his uncle with being enamoured of the moon, and attending ſolely to her, inſtead of thinking of the victory, the author, without detriment to the other ideas to which this reproach may give riſe, principally means, that Conſtantine, wholly devoted to the care of founding and embelliſhing his new city, had neglected the affairs of ſtate, and ſuffered his laurels to wither. This is exactly what Zoſimus, the copyer of Eunapius and the echo of Julian, imputes to him, by ſaying, that " Con- " ſtantine, after the foundation of Conſtantinople, had no " ſucceſs in war; διέλεσε πολεμον ὑδενα καλορθωκως, and that " he ſuffered the Barbarians to inſult him in his new ca- " pital." LA BLETERIE.

The above ingenious ſolution of a difficulty, before inſuperable, will, I doubt not, be approved by every reader, and adopted by all future commentators on the Cæſars.

* Meaning Dacia, which Trajan had reduced to a province. Aurelian having abandoned it, it was uſurped by the Goths. There can be no doubt of Conſtantine having carried his arms beyond the Danube. The two Victors enumerate, among his great actions, his having made a bridge over that river. But it is certain, that he did not conquer the country of the Dacians. I am convinced that Julian, in order to render him ridiculous, repreſents him as affecting the importance of a conqueror on account of

" equally meritorious: perhaps to regain is more " laudable than to gain. As to this MARCUS, he, " by saying nothing for himself, yields us all the " precedency."

' But, CONSTANTINE,' said Silenus, ' why do ' you not mention, among your great works, the ' gardens of Adonis *?' " What mean you," replied CONSTANTINE, " by the gardens of Adonis †?"

of some advantages which he had gained over the Goths settled in Dacia; and perhaps for some forts which he had erected on the left of the Danube. With the same view, Julian makes him draw, from the silence of Marcus Aurelius, the most absurd, and, I may venture to say, the most foolish conclusion that can be imagined.

LA BLETERIE.

* Thus Suidas: " The gardens of Adonis consisted of " lettuce and fennel, which were sown in pots. It is used " as a proverb of things immature, or, when in season, " slight, and not rooted, not lasting, but adhering only " to the surface." See Athen. l. IV. c. 8. and Arrian's Epictetus. CANTOCLARUS.

Thus Shakspeare says,

Thy promises are like Adonis' gardens,
That one day bloom'd, and fruitful were the next.

1 Hen. IV. Act. I. Sc. II.

And Mr. Bramstone, in his Man of Taste. (Dodsley's Poems, Vol. I.) says,

Pots o'er the door I'll place, like cits balconies,
Which Bentley calls the gardens of Adonis;

and refers to Bentley's Milton, b. IX. ver. 439.

——— those gardens feign'd
Or of reviv'd Adonis.

He might have referred to much more ancient writers than Milton or his commentator, whom one would not have expected to have been ridiculed for this expression by a scholar.

† Could Constantine, though a Christian, be ignorant of the rites of a religion which he had long practised? If I mistake not, he is here meant to be accused on the most common subjects. LA BLETERIE.

' Pots,'

'Pots,' answered Silenus, 'filled with earth, in which 'women sow herbs in honour of that lover * of 'Venus. They flourish for a short time, but soon 'fade.' At this CONSTANTINE blushed, knowing it to be intended as a sarcasm on his own actions.

Silence being proclaimed, it was expected that the Gods would immediately have determined the pre-eminence by their votes. But they thought it proper first to examine the intentions of the candidates, and not merely to collect them from their actions, in which Fortune had the greatest share; and that Goddess, being present, loudly reproached them all, OCTAVIANUS alone excepted, who, she said, had always been grateful to her. Of this the Gods apprised Mercury, and commanded him to begin with asking ALEXANDER "what he "thought the highest excellence, and what "was his principal view in all the great actions "and labours of his life?" He replied, 'Universal 'conquest.' "And in this," said Mercury, "did "you think you succeeded?" 'Certainly,' answered ALEXANDER. Silenus added, with a sneering laugh, "You forget that you were often con-"quered by my daughters," meaning vines; and ridiculing ALEXANDER for his intemperance. ALEXANDER, well versed in the Peripatetic aphorisms, replied, 'Things inanimate cannot conquer. 'There can be no contention with them, but only 'with men or animals.' At this, Silenus ironically

* Ἀνδρα ("husband") in the original.

expressing

expreſſing his admiration, exclaimed, "Alas! alas! "how great are the ſubterfuges of logicians! But "in what claſs will you rank yourſelf, among "things inanimate, or among the animate and "living?" ALEXANDER, with ſome diſpleaſure, replied, 'Be leſs ſevere; ſuch was my mag-'nimity, that I was convinced that I ſhould be, 'nay that I was, a God.' "You allow then," ſaid Silenus, "that you were often conquered by "yourſelf, when anger, grief, or ſome other paſſion "debaſed and debilitated your mind." 'But,' anſwered ALEXANDER, 'for any one to conquer 'himſelf, and to be conquered by himſelf, are ſy-'nonymous. I am talking of my victories over 'others.' "Fie upon your logic!" returned Silenus; "how it detects my ſophiſtry! But when "you were wounded in India *, and Peuceſtes lay "near you, and you, almoſt breathleſs, were car-"ried out of the city, were you conquered by him "who wounded you, or did you conquer him?" 'I not only conquered him,' replied ALEXANDER, 'but I alſo deſtroyed the city.' "Not you, indeed, "you Immortal," ſaid Silenus; "you lay like Homer's

* Alexander, when he was beſieging the capital of the Oxydracæ, according to Quintus Curtius, but, as others ſay, of the Mallians, was ſo raſh as to leap alone into the city, where he was dangerouſly wounded with an arrow by an Indian, who, believing him dead, then advanced to ſtrip him. Alexander, however, recovering, killed him with his dagger, and was ſoon after reſcued by his ſoldiers, and carried off to his tent almoſt dead.

LA BLETERIE.

"Hector,

" Hector *, languid, and almoſt expiring; others " fought and conquered." ' True, anſwered ALEXANDER, ' but under my command.' " How " could they obey you," ſaid Silenus, " who were " carried out almoſt dead ?"

He then ſung theſe verſes of Euripides †:

" Unjuſt the cuſtom of the Greeks; the troops
" The battle gain, their leaders gain the glory."

' Say no more, my dear father,' ſaid Bacchus, ' leſt he ſhould treat you as he treated Clitus.' At this ALEXANDER bluſhed, wept, and was ſilent.

This diſcourſe ended, Mercury thus interrogated CÆSAR: " What, CÆSAR, was the principal view " of your life ?" ' To excell my contemporaries,' he replied, ' and neither to be, nor to be thought, ' ſecond to any." " This," ſaid Mercury, " is " not quite clear. In what did you particularly " wiſh to excell, in wiſdom or eloquence, in mili- " tary ſkill, or political abilities ?" ' In every ' thing,' anſwered CÆSAR. ' I was deſirous of be- ' ing the firſt of men; but, as that was impoſſible, ' I endeavoured to be the moſt powerful of my ' fellow-citizens.' " And had you much power " among them ?" ſaid Silenus. ' Certainly,' re-

* When he was wounded by Ajax. Il. XIV. 432. and XV. 246.

† In his Andromache. Clitus is ſaid to have repeated theſe verſes at a banquet of Alexander, in order to depreciate his exploits, by which he provoked Alexander to kill him, as Quintus Curtius informs us, in his eighth book, and Plutarch, in his Life of Alexander. BARNES.

plied CÆSAR, for I became their governor.' "That," returned Silenus, "you might be; but "you could never gain their love, though, for "that purpose, you dissembled much humanity, "acting a part like a player, and meanly flatter- "ing all men." 'What!' said CÆSAR; 'was I 'not loved by the people who persecuted Brutus 'and Cassius?' "That," replied Silenus, "was "not because they had murdered you; for on that "account the people made them consuls *; but "for the sake of your money, as soon as they had "heard your will, and found that no small reward "was given to those who should be their enemies."

This discourse also being concluded, Mercury thus accosted OCTAVIANUS: 'Will you also tell us 'what was your principal view?' He replied, "To reign well." "What means that?" said

* This is contrary to history. Brutus and Cassius were not nominated to the consulship by the people. The former was to have filled that place four years after, but that was an arrangement made by Cæsar. Though, instead of ὑπατες, "consuls," we should read ἀνθυπατες, "pro-consuls," Julian would still be mistaken. It was not the people, but the senate, that invested Brutus and Cassius with pro-consular power in the provinces of which those two republicans had taken possession. LA BLETERIE.

M. de la Bleterie has altered this passage, in his translation, to "they thought them worthy of the consulship "for having killed you." I cannot allow myself such a liberty, remembering the rule of Roscommon,

Your author always will the best advise,
Fall when he falls ———

A translator may correct his author in the notes, but in the text he should let him speak his own language.

Silenus,

Silenus. "Explain, AUGUSTUS, as this is pretended "even by the wicked. Even Dionyſius * thought "that he reigned well; and ſo did the ſtill more "abandoned Agathocles *." 'You know then,' replied OCTAVIANUS, 'ye Gods, that when I 'parted with my grandſon †, I prayed you to 'give him the courage of CÆSAR, the conduct of 'Pompey, and my good fortune.' "Many ſtatues "of Gods," ſaid Silenus, "moſt curiouſly carved, "of Gods of great merit, have been ſent us by "this ſtatuary." 'Why,' anſwered OCTAVIANUS, 'do you give me that ridiculous appellation?' "As Nymphs are carved," he replied, "have not "you formed Gods, one of whom, and the prin-"cipal, is this CÆSAR?" OCTAVIANUS bluſhed ‡, and ſaid no more.

Mercury then, addreſſing himſelf to TRAJAN, asked, 'what end his actions had in view?' "The "fame," he replied, "as thoſe of ALEXANDER, "but with more moderation." 'So you were 'conquered,' ſaid Silenus, 'by more ignoble paſ-'ſions. He was frequently ſubdued by anger, 'you by the vileſt and moſt diſgraceful plea-

* Tyrants of Syracuſe well known.

† Auguſtus wiſhed this to C. Cæſar, the eldeſt ſon of Agrippa and Julia, when he ſent him to wage war in the eaſt. LA BLETERIE.

‡ Auguſtus had reaſon to bluſh at thoſe extravagant apotheoſes; and Julian was in the right to ridicule them. But ſhould he not have reflected that many of the Gods whom he worſhipped were no more than images a little older? *Magis è longinquo reverentia.* *Ibid.*

'ſures.

'sures *, "Plague on you!" said Bacchus. "Your "sarcasms prevent their speaking for themselves. "A truce with your jokes, and consider now what "you can find reprehensible in MARCUS; for he "seems to me, in the sense of Simonides †, per- "fect and faultless ‡." Then Mercury, turning towards MARCUS, said, 'And what, O sage, did 'you think the greatest happiness?' With a low voice, and with great diffidence, he replied, "To "imitate the Gods." This answer was immediately deemed highly noble and praise-worthy. Nor would Mercury question him any farther, convinced that MARCUS would always answer with equal propriety. In this opinion all the other Gods concurred. Silenus only exclaimed, 'By 'Bacchus, I will not spare this sophist §. Why 'did you formerly eat bread and drink wine, and 'not nectar and ambrosia, like us?' "Not in "order to imitate the Gods," replied he, "but "to nourish my body, from a persuasion, whether "true or false, that your bodies also require

* Yet Pliny the younger makes an admirable elogium on the chastity of Trajan. Rely on panegyrists. LA BLETERIE.

† A native of Ceos, one of the Cyclades, distinguished by his elegiac verses. His answer to Hiero's question, "What is God?" is well known.

‡ In the original, τετραγωνος, "four-cornered," or "square." This expression occurs in one of the fragments of this poet still preserved.

§ No one less deserves the name of sophist than Marcus Aurelius. "A great proof of the regard of the Gods for "me," says he, . . . "is that having a very great love "for philosophy, I have never fallen into the hands of any "sophist; that I have not amused myself with reading "their books, or unravelling their vain subtleties, &c." *Meditations of Marcus Antoninus.* LA BLETERIE.

being

" being nouriſhed by the fumes of ſacrifices *. I " did not, however, think that you were to be imi- " tated in this, but in your minds." Silenus, as much ſtunned at this as if he had been ſtruck by a skilful boxer, replied, ' This is ſomewhat plau- ' ſible †; but tell me now, in what did you for- ' merly think, that the imitation of the Gods con- ' ſiſted?' MARCUS anſwered, " In having as few " wants, and doing as much good, as poſſible." ' What! had you no wants?' ſaid Silenus. " As " to myſelf," replied MARCUS, " I had none; but " my body perhaps had a few." MARCUS ſeeming in this alſo to have anſwered wiſely, Silenus at laſt inſiſted on what he thought improper and unjuſt in the conduct of MARCUS towards his wife and ſon, his enrolling her among the God- deſſes, and entruſting the empire to him. ' In ' this alſo,' ſaid MARCUS, ' I imitated the Gods. ' For I practiſed that maxim of Homer,

* Julian adopts this groſs conception by aſcribing it to his favourite Marcus Antoninus. The Stoics and Platoniſts heſitated between the analogy of bodies and the purity of ſpirits; yet the graveſt philoſophers inclined to the whimſical fancy of Ariſtophanes and Julian, that an unbelieving age might ſtarve the immortal Gods. GIBBON.

† The Gods of Julian are not jealous Gods. On the contrary, they are of a good compoſition, according to the arrogant philoſophy of the Stoics, who were ſo chimerical as to imagine, that man has no need of any inward ſupport, and that he may become like to God without any other ſtrength than that of nature. " In which man," ſaid they, " has " the advantage of Jupiter himſelf. Jupiter is good by " nature, but the wiſe man is good by his own choice." LA BLETERIE.

'The wife whom choice and paſſion both approve,
'Sure every wife and worthy man will love *.
'And as to my ſon, I am juſtified in my behaviour
'by that of Jupiter himſelf. "I ſhould long ago,"
'ſaid he to Mars, "have transfixed thee with a
"thunder-bolt, if I had not loved thee, becauſe thou
"art my ſon †." 'Beſides, I never imagined that
'COMMODUS would have proved ſo profligate. And
'though his youth, aſſailed on all ſides by ſtrong
'temptations, was hurried away by the worſt, I
'entruſted the government to one not yet cor-
'rupted. Afterwards, indeed, he became wicked.
'My tenderneſs therefore to my wife was copied
'from the example of the divine Achilles ‡, and
'that

* Pope, 450. This is ſaid by Achilles, on the ſubject of Briſeis, whom he conſiders as his wife, and whom Agamemnon had taken from him. Il. IX. 343. LA BLETERIE.

Julian, after Homer, ſtyles Briſeis "the wife" (γαμέτης) of Achilles, as he had before ſtyled Adonis "the husband" (ἀνὴρ) of Venus. One would think he had read Thelyphthora.

† This is the ſubſtance of what Jupiter ſays to Mars. Il. V. 896, &c.

‡ It is impoſſible fully to juſtify the weakneſs of Marcus Aurelius in regard to his wife. Julian, however, might have made him offer a more plauſible excuſe than a maxim true in general, but liable to ſome exceptions; and which, for having come from the mouth of the divine Achilles, an authority very weak in point of conduct, was not the more applicable to the caſe of Marcus Aurelius. He might have alleged, not in his juſtification, but as an excuſe, that, never ſuſpecting evil, and judging of others by himſelf, he had thought that his wife was what ſhe ought to have been. Whatever ſome hiſtorians may ſay, Marcus Aurelius was ignorant of the irregularities of Fauſtina, as he thanks the Gods "for having given him a wife ſo good-

"natured

'that to my ſon * was in imitation of the ſupreme 'Jupiter; and, beſides, in both theſe I was guilty 'of

" natured and obliging, full of tenderneſs for her husband, " and of a wonderful ſimplicity of manners." *Meditations of Marcus Antoninus*, l. i. XVII.

" This ought not to ſeem very ſurpriſing," ſays Madam Dacier, " if we conſider, on one ſide, the ſimplicity of " Antoninus," (ſo ſhe always calls Marcus Aurelius) " and, " on the other, the genius of Fauſtina, who had no leſs " art than beauty, and who had captivated the emperor " by all the external demonſtrations of a tenderneſs, which " appeared great in proportion to its falſhood. Half as " much would have been ſufficient to deceive a man much " more diſtruſtful and ſuſpicious than Antoninus. If, after " this, any are obſtinately aſtoniſhed at his ignorance," continues Madam Dacier, " I have no objection, perſuaded, " that thoſe who are ſo aſtoniſhed are in the ſame ſituation; " for the world abounds with ſuch examples, and there is " nothing of which women are more capable than ſuch " diſſimulation."

Madam Dacier adds, that, " if, in the ſatire of the " Cæſars, this prince, inſtead of excuſing himſelf on ac- " count of his ignorance, alleges the maxim of Achilles, " and the example of other emperors, who have paid the " ſame honours to their wives, though they were no more " worthy than Fauſtina, the reaſon probably was, that " Julian meant to include in this ſatire the wives of Ha- " drian, Veſpaſian, and Auguſtus." That may be. But I rather think that Julian imagined he had anſwered every thing when he had quoted ſome verſe of Homer.

LA BLETERIE.

The deification of Fauſtina is the only defect which Julian's criticiſm is able to diſcover in the all-accompliſhed Marcus Aurelius. GIBBON.

Another " defect," obſerved by Julian in Marcus Aure- lius, was the entruſting the empire to his ſon. See p. 209.

* We will not ſay, with the Emperor Severus, that Marcus Aurelius ought to have put his ſon Commodus to death. But the faults, which paternal tenderneſs made that philoſophical Emperor commit, are utterly inexcuſable in ſo

'of no innovation. It is the general cuſtom for 'ſons to ſucceed to the inheritance of their fathers, 'and this is alſo the wiſh of all. Nor was I 'the firſt who decreed divine honours to a wife, 'there being many precedents. To have intro-'duced it might perhaps have been unreaſonable; 'but to prevent the neareſt relations from fol-'lowing a cuſtom eſtabliſhed by others, would be 'unjuſt. But I forget myſelf, and have been too 'prolix in my apology to you, O Jupiter and ye

great a man. I know that he at firſt took all poſſible methods to give his ſon an excellent education. But ſome corrupters inſinuated themſelves into the favour of that prince. It is ſaid, that, when Marcus Aurelius removed them, Commodus was ſo chagrined as to be ill, and that his father had the weakneſs to reſtore them to him.

Be that as it may, one of theſe three things muſt be allowed; either Marcus Aurelius was appriſed of the bad inclinations of his ſon; or he conſidered him as a young man wavering between good and evil; or, laſtly, he thought him ſolidly virtuous. In the firſt caſe, the empire not being hereditary, Marcus Aurelius ſhould have cauſed the ſenate to name him another ſucceſſor, and not have falſified the fair ſpeeches which he himſelf had made: "May my "children periſh, if they leſs deſerve to be loved than "thoſe of Caſſius, and if their lives are not uſeful to the "republic!" In the ſecond caſe, was the love of his country diſplayed by expoſing it to the riſk of having a vicious Emperor? On the third ſuppoſition, how can this prince be exculpated for having depended too much on the virtues which he thought he ſaw in a child? He made the ſenate confer on him, at the age of fifteen or ſixteen at moſt, both the conſulſhip, and the tribunitial power, and even the title of Auguſtus; and by that in a manner diveſted himſelf of paternal authority. Antoninus had not done ſo much in favour of Marcus Aurelius himſelf, though he was ſo early attached to virtue. LA BLETERIE.

'Gods,

'Gods, who know all things. Pardon me this 'indiscretion.'

When MARCUS had finished his speech, Mercury interrogated CONSTANTINE, and asked him, "What good end he had in view?" 'Having 'amassed great riches *,' he replied, 'to disburse 'them liberally in the gratification of my own de-'sires, and those of my friends.' At this, Silenus burst into a fit of loud laughter, and said, "You "now wish to pass for a banker †; but how can "you

* It is difficult to conceive that Constantine did not oppress his subjects. I mean, that he did not lay some new burthen upon them, and even that he granted some diminution of the old ones, according to M. de Tillemont. However, if we consider the state in which the empire must be, after so many civil wars, after having suffered the reigns of that crowd of Emperors and Cæsars, or rather tyrants, each of whom expended as much as a single sovereign, we shall allow that, in such circumstances, the design of founding a new capital, and of making Constantinople at once equal to Rome, the work of so many ages, was not that of a prince sufficiently intent on the welfare of his subjects. But to say that, in amassing wealth, his object was to satisfy the passions of others, is unjustly to render him responsible for the abuses which were made of his liberality by some of his friends, whom perhaps he had not chosen with sufficient discernment. To pretend that his view was to satisfy his own passions is a calumny, unless it means his passion for New Rome: that passion, however, did not so exhaust his treasures as to leave him nothing to distribute in immense charities, in building and endowing churches, and in magnificently rewarding men of letters and artists.

LA BLETERIE.

† To understand this sarcastic pleasantry of Silenus, we must suppose that the bankers at that time lived and dressed very penuriously. "As by your own confession," says

" you forget your living like a cook, or a hair-
" dreſſer? This your hair and looks formerly

Silenus, " you employed yourſelf in receiving and counting
" money, like a banker, you ought to have lived and
" dreſſed like one. You ought not to have indulged your-
" ſelf in good cheer, in inventing new ragoûts, in paying
" ſo much attention to your hair." The table of Conſtantine was ſerved with magnificence. By his medals it is thought that he was perhaps too curious in dreſs. Euſebius mentions ſome white hair that was among the preſents which were ſent him by Barbarian kings *. He wore gold-flowered ſtuffs, and a diadem adorned with jewels and pearls. What a ſcandal to Julian, who baniſhed from his palace all the cooks, who lived on vegetables, who neglected his hair and his perſon, on whom the diadem ſat ſo heavy that he retained it only through policy! He muſt have been enraged at him who had made the uſe of it common, and by that means laid his ſucceſſors under the neceſſity of wearing it. LA BLETERIE.

The dreſs and manners, which, towards the decline of life, he choſe to affect, ſerved only to degrade him in the eyes of mankind. The Aſiatic pomp, which had been adopted by the pride of Diocletian, aſſumed an air of ſoftneſs and effeminancy in the perſon of Conſtantine. He is repreſented with falſe hair of various colours, laboriouſly arranged by the ſkilful artiſts of the times, a diadem of a new and more expenſive faſhion, a profuſion of gems and pearls, of collars and bracelets, and a variegated flowing robe of ſilk, moſt curiouſly embroidered with flowers of gold. In ſuch apparel, ſcarcely to be excuſed in the youth and folly of Elagabalus, we are at a loſs to diſcover the wiſdom of an aged monarch, and the ſimplicity of a Roman veteran. Julian, in the Cæſars, attempts to ridicule his uncle. His ſuſpicious teſtimony is confirmed, however, by the learned Spanheim, with the authority of medals. Euſebius alleges, that " Conſtantine dreſſed for the public,
" not for himſelf." Were this admitted, the vaineſt coxcomb could never want an excuſe. GIBBON.

* See Euſebius's Life of Conſtantine IV.

" proved,

" proved, but now your words demonſtrate." Thus ſeverely ſarcaſtic was Silenus.

Silence being proclaimed, the Gods gave their votes privately. Moſt were in favour of MARCUS *, but Jupiter, after diſcourſing apart with his father, ordered Mercury to make the following proclamation: 'All you who have engaged in this con-'teſt, know, that, by our laws and decrees, the 'victor is allowed to rejoice, but not to inſult the 'vanquiſhed. Depart then wherever you pleaſe, 'under the patronage of the Gods, and, for the 'future, reſiding here, let every one chooſe ſome 'guardian and protector.'

ALEXANDER immediately haſtened to Hercules, and OCTAVIANUS to Apollo; but MARCUS attached himſelf cloſely both to Jupiter and Saturn. CÆSAR wandered about, and ran here and there, 'till Mars and Venus, moved with compaſſion, called him to them. TRAJAN joined ALEXANDER, as if he would ſeat himſelf in the ſame place. But CONSTANTINE not finding among the Gods the model of his actions, and perceiving the Goddeſs of Pleaſure, repaired to her. She received him very courteouſly, embraced him, and then dreſſing him in a woman's variegated gown, and

* Julian was ſecretly inclined to prefer a Greek to a Roman. But when he ſeriouſly compared a hero with a philoſopher, he was ſenſible that mankind had much greater obligations to Socrates than to Alexander. GIBBON. See his Epiſtle to Themiſtius, p. 24.

nicely curling his hair, led him away to Luxury *. With her he found one of his sons †, who loudly proclaimed,

* Ασωλια. Julian here personifies Luxury, or (as M. de la Bleterie translates it) Debauchery, and places her among the Gods, in the same manner as he had before deified Pleasure (Τρυφη), and Repentance (Μεταμελεια.)

† This son, whom Constantine finds with Debauchery, is not one of the three who had followed him to the banquet, and whom, Julian says a little lower, their father "led "out of the assembly of the Gods." He here means Crispus, the eldest of all, a pupil of the celebrated Lactantius, and known by his tragical death still more than by his victories. But why does Julian place near Debauchery that prince whom history mentions as an unfortunate hero? Is it because he thought him guilty of the crime of which his step-mother accused him? No; that would tend to the exculpation of Constantine. It is rather owing to Julian's continuing to treat a manner of living less singular than his own as effeminacy and debauchery. Crispus was charged by the Empress Fausta with the same crime of which Phædra had formerly accused Hippolytus, and of intending to dethrone his father. Constantine, too credulous, put his son to death, and soon after, having discovered the innocence of Crispus, he punished the false accuser with a rigour that was considered as a new crime.

These two deaths, and that of his nephew, young Licinius, are indeed enormous crimes, which might have been expiated by the baptism which Constantine received before he died. But we may judge of the effect which they produced on such superficial and corrupt minds as imputed to religion the faults of its professors, both by the blasphemies of Julian and of modern infidels. Without pretending to penetrate into the judgments of God, we may consider, with M. de Tillemont, as the chastisement of these cruel actions of Constantine, both the faults which the Arians made him commit, and the extinction of his family, which seemed likely to continue for many ages; yet, numerous as it was, perished in less than forty years, by such a variety of bloody and untimely deaths, as excites horror. *Now therefore the sword shall not depart from thine*

proclaimed, " Let all, whether they be libertines, " or murderers, or whatever be their crimes *, " boldly

thine house . . . because thou hast given great occasion to the enemies of the Lord to blaspheme. LA BLETERIE.

Such haughty contempt for the opinion of mankind, whilst it imprints an indelible disgrace on the memory of Constantine, must remind us of the very different behaviour of one of the greatest monarchs of the present age. The Czar Peter, in the full possession of despotic power, submitted to the judgment of Russia, of Europe, and of posterity, the reasons which had compelled him to subscribe the condemnation of a criminal, or, at least, a degenerate son. GIBBON.

* One would think, at first, that Julian alludes to the story which the Pagans of the fifth century circulated on the subject of the conversion of Constantine. They said, that that prince, struck with remorse for having put his son and his wife to death, having asked Sopater, chief of the Platonic school, and the Pagan pontiffs, whether the religion of the Gentiles had any expiation to efface such crimes, answered him, that it had not; that, in consequence, Constantine had a conference with a certain Ægyptian, who had come from Spain to Rome, and was well known to the women of the palace; that this Ægyptian and some bishops assured him that the Christian religion would give him what the Pagans refused him; and that there was no kind of wickedness which could not be washed in the blood of Jesus Christ; and that, upon their answer, he embraced Christianity, and declared himself its protector.

This relation proves that the Pagans did not consider Constantine as a man without conscience; and that, more equitable than our free-thinkers, they ascribed his change, not to policy, but to conviction. If the story were true, there would be no more pretence to insult us for the faults of Constantine, as he must have committed them in the darkness of idolatry. But truth obliges me to say, that the fact cannot be supported. For, 1. as Sozomen remarks, the philosopher Sopater, being well versed in the religion of the Gentiles, could not be ignorant that it had some pretended expiations for such cases as that of Constantine.

4 2. It

" boldly advance, for by ſprinkling them with " water, I will immediately make them pure. And " if

2. It is not credible that the pontiffs of the idols ſhould have been ſo filly as to lay him under an abſolute neceſſity of providing himſelf elſewhere. If they had not had expiations, they would have invented them, to quiet the conſcience of an Emperor whom they ſaw on the eve of deſerting them, and throwing himſelf into the arms of the Chriſtians. 3. Criſpus, Fauſta, and young Licinius died in 326; and in the year 312 Conſtantine acknowledged the Chriſtian religion as the only true one.

Julian was too well acquainted with the hiſtory of his family, and the æra of the converſion of Conſtantine, to have had in view a fable, which he conſidered as a fable, ſuppoſing that in his time it had been yet invented. I imagine therefore that this apoſtate introduces Criſpus vaunting the efficacy of baptiſm and repentance, in order to inſinuate, by that profane irony, that the proſpect of the reſources offered to ſinners by the Chriſtian religion had emboldened Conſtantine to ſhed the blood of his relations. It was a common calumny with the Pagans to ſay, that Chriſtianity favoured the corruption of men by promiſing pardon to the greateſt crimes; as if the goſpel promiſes any thing to incorrigible ſinners, or aſſures them that they ſhall have time and the will to reform.

This calumny is the more atrocious in the mouth of Julian, as, having been of the clergy, he muſt be better acquainted with the ſpirit of the church, with the wiſe precautions and long probations that ſhe employs to be aſſured of the converſion both of catechumens and of penitents. A religion, which did not offer to the moſt miſerable man a method of recovering the favour of God, would be an ineffectual religion, and little worthy of the goodneſs of God who would have all men ſaved. It would indeed favour corruption by plunging or leaving the guilty in deſpair. A religion, which ſhould pretend to efface crimes by mere ceremonies, without reforming the criminal, would be no more than a farce, a deſpicable palliative, likely to exaſperate the diſeaſe, but not to cure it. Chriſtianity obſerves the juſt mean. Adapted to the wants of mankind, and

" if they ſhould relapſe, they need only ſmite
" their breaſts and beat their heads, and they will
" again be purified."

To

and worthy of the ſanctity of its author, it preſents men, to whatever abyſs of degradation and miſery vice may have reduced them, with a line which conducts them ſtrait to God, provided, and not elſe, that they become new men in and by Jeſus Chriſt. In all times, ſome, ſeparating the promiſe from the condition, have aſſumed, by a deplorable abuſe, a kind of title to ſin more boldly. But God forbid, that, on the word of an accuſer, who gueſſes and cannot prove, we ſhould think that Conſtantine was of that number, and that the expectation of baptiſm ſhould have influenced him to actions for which he is juſtly reproached! After all, it is not the fault of phyſic, if, from the uncertain hope of the aſſiſtance that it offers, ſome are ſo extravagant as to aggravate their diſeaſes.

Beſides the ſlanderous imputation juſt mentioned, I perceive in the words of Criſpus a ſatirical ſtroke which is not undeſerved. By the confeſſion of Euſebius (which is ſaying every thing) Conſtantine did not enough diſtinguiſh from true Chriſtians thoſe who embraced Chriſtianity only to make their fortunes. " By their hypocriſy and artifice," ſays Euſebius, " they inſinuated themſelves into the favour " of the Emperor, and much injured his reputation." Julian therefore here means to reproach Conſtantine for having over-looked every thing, and pardoned every thing, provided his religion was profeſſed. But why did not the cenſor perceive, that he himſelf is more juſtly entitled to the like cenſure? Neither the uncle nor the nephew had ſufficient delicacy as to their proſelytes. Yet they muſt have been well acquainted with a memorable ſtory of Conſtantius. Chlorus. That prince, at the time when his collegues were perſecuting Chriſtianity with fire and ſword, aſſembled ſuch officers of his palace, and governors of his provinces, as were Chriſtians, and gave them the alternative, either of retaining their places, by ſacrificing to the Gods, or of loſing them by adhering to their religion. When they had all made their options, he ſaid to the prevaricators,

To this Goddeſs CONSTANTINE gladly devoted himſelf, and with her conducted his ſons out of the aſſembly of the Gods. But the Deities who puniſh atheiſm * and bloodſhed avenged on him and them the murder of their relations †, till Jupiter, in favour of CLAUDIUS ‡ and CONSTANTIUS, gave them ſome reſpite.

varicators, "You have baſe and venal minds. I caſhier "you, and baniſh you for ever from my palace. He who "betrays his conſcience is capable of betraying me. As "for you," ſaid he to the others, "I give you my eſteem "and confidence. A man is faithful to his prince and "the community when he is faithful to his God." He retained them in his ſervice, and entruſted them with the guard of his perſon, and the principal affairs of ſtate; conſidering them as his ſureſt friends and real treaſures. I ſhall conclude this long note, or rather diſſertation, with obſerving that M. de Tillemont queſtions whether Criſpus had received baptiſm. The ſpeech which Julian aſſigns to him leaves no room to doubt it. But it was not before perceived that it is Criſpus who ſpeaks in this paſſage.

LA BLETERIE.

Dr. Bentley, under the borrowed name of Philelentherus Lipſienſis, ſtyles this "a ridiculous and ſtale banter, uſed "by Celſus and others, before Julian, upon the Chriſtian "doctrines of baptiſm, and repentance, and remiſſion of "ſins," and has refuted it at large in his Remarks on a late diſcourſe of Free-thinking, § XLII.

* Julian treats the Chriſtians as atheiſts, becauſe they reject the plurality of Gods, and acknowledge one only.

LA BLETERIE.

† After the death of Conſtantine, the ſoldiers laid violent hands on his three brothers, and five of his nephews. Conſtantius was conſidered as guilty of this maſſacre, and Julian probably means to charge with it Conſtantine the younger alſo, and Conſtans. Be that as it may, the two latter made war on each other, and Conſtantine the younger was killed near Aquileia by the troops of Conſtans. That Conſtantius put Gallus to death is well known. *Ibid.*

‡ Claudius II. mentioned p. 167.

"As

" As for you," ſaid Mercury, addreſſing himſelf to me, " I have introduced you to the knowledge of your father the Sun *; obey then his dictates, making him your guide and ſecure refuge, while you live; and when you leave the world, adopt him, with good hopes, for your tutelar God."

* Julian, as ſoon as he roſe, always addreſſed a prayer to Mercury. He thought himſelf under the protection of that God. We have ſaid in the preface, and ſhall again obſerve in another place, that by the Sun he underſtands the Demiurgus, or Logos. LA BLETERIE.

The

The following List of the Roman Emperors, from JULIUS CÆSAR to JULIAN, will give a succinct view of all that are mentioned, and all that are omitted, in the foregoing Satire.

	Before Xt.
1 JULIUS CÆSAR, died	44
	A. D.
2 AUGUSTUS	14
3 Tiberius	37
4 * Caligula	41
5 Claudius I.	54
6 * Nero	68
[Vindex]	68
7 Galba	68
8 Otho	69
9 Vitellius	69
10 Vespasian	79
11 Titus	81
12 * Domitian	96
13 Nerva	98
14 TRAJAN	117
15 Hadrian	137
16 Antoninus Pius	161
17 MARCUS AURELIUS and Lucius Verus	180 169
18 † Commodus	193
19 Pertinax	193
20 *Julian* I.	193
21 Severus	211
22 * Caracalla and Geta	217 212
23 † Macrinus and Diadumenus	218 218
24 † Eliagabalus	222
25 Alexander Severus	235
26 * Maximin, died and *Maximus*	A. D. 238 238
27 *Pupienus* and *Balbinus*	238 238
28 *Gordian*	243
29 *Philip*	249
30 *Decius*	251
31 *Gallus*	252
32 † Valerian	260
33 † Gallienus	268
34 Claudius II.	270
35 Aurelian	275
36 *Tacitus*	276
37 Probus	282
38 † Carus	284
† Carinus and † Numerian	285 284
39 Diocletian and Maximian } resigned	305
40 Constantius-Chlorus d. and † Galerius	306 311
41 † CONSTANTINE THE GREAT and † Licinius	337 323
42 † Constantine II.	340
† Constantius and † Constans	361 350
43 JULIAN II.	363

N. B. Those marked † were excluded the assembly; those * were thrown into Tartarus; and those in Italicks are not mentioned. Vindex, though mentioned, was not Emperor. And Tiberius, Commodus, and Elagabalus, though they escaped Tartarus, deserved it.

The

The MISOPOGON, or the ANTIOCHIAN *.

ANACREON † compoſed many ludicrous poems ‡, the Fates having endowed him with a ſportive vein. But neither Alcæus §, nor Archi- A. D. 363.

* Being jeered by the Antiochians, and ſeveral aſperſions having been thrown on his beard in particular, Julian took his revenge in this ſatire, in which, by a figurative reprehenſion of himſelf, he drew his keen pen againſt the manners and luxury of the people of Antioch. This work, and its ſubject, are mentioned by Ammianus, *l.* XXII. Zoſimus, *l.* III. Gregory Nazianzen, *Orat.* II. on Julian, and Socrates, *l.* III. *c.* 17. PETAU.

It ſeems as if Julian meant in ſome ſort to confound himſelf with his beard, which was ſo dear to him that it diſpleaſed the inhabitants of Antioch. After all, the title of a book frequently refers to ſome paſſage only in the work. LA BLETERIE.

Inſtead of abuſing, or exerting, the authority of the ſtate, to revenge his perſonal injuries, Julian contented himſelf with an inoffenſive mode of retaliation which it would be in the power of few princes to employ. He had been inſulted by ſatires and libels; in his turn, he compoſed, under the title of "The Enemy of the Beard," an ironical confeſſion of his own faults, and a ſevere ſatire on the licentious and effeminate manners of Antioch. This imperial reply was publickly expoſed before the gates of the palace, and the Miſopogon ſtill remains a ſingular monument of the reſentment, the wit, the humanity, and the indiſcretion of Julian. GIBBON.

The ſatire of Julian, and the homilies of St. Chryſoſtom, exhibit the ſame picture of Antioch. *Ibid.*

In like manner, Hadrian, it is obſervable, was alſo much offended with the levity and petulance of the Antiochians, and had thoughts of disjoining Phœnicia from Syria, that their city might not continue the metropolis of ſo many others.

A Lyric

Archilochus * of Paros, were favoured by the Gods with a Muſe who had a talent for mirth and pleaſantry; for when they were oppreſſed with misfortunes, they had recourſe to the Muſes, and alleviated the weight of their cares by railing at their enemies. The law, however, forbids me, as well as every one elſe, to accuſe any by name ‖, even

† A Lyric poet of Teos, a city in Ionia, who wrote many more odes than are tranſmitted to us, as Horace ſays,—*perſæpe cavâ teſtudine flevit amorem.* Epod. XIV. 4.

‡ We read in the editions, "Anacreon made many "ſerious and ludicrous poems," χμιλη σεμνα και χαριεντα. Whether this poet wrote any thing but ſongs, is the queſtion. By ſaying, that "Anacreon made ſome ſerious verſes," Julian would ſay the direct contrary of what he meant. I thiuk therefore that the text ſhoul be corrected, and the word τερπια ſubſtituted, or that we ſhould only read χαριεντα. In one of the MSS. of the King's library, which has been lent me, the words σεμνα και are not to be found; and the other informs the reader, that there are ſome MSS. in which thoſe words do not occur. LA BLETERIE.

§ A native of Mitylene. From him the Alcäic verſes derive their name. His pieces were ſevere ſatires againſt the tyrants of Lesbos, Pittacus in particular. His ſtyle, according to Quintilian, was loſty, and much reſembled that of Homer.

* See p. 131.

‖ The Roman laws, beginning with thoſe ſubſequent to the XII tables, condemn ſeverely the authors of defamatory libels. Julian, though in joke, is glad to ſhew that he has a republican ſpirit. He conſidered the Emperors as juſtly ſubject to all the laws, except thoſe with which they had ſpecifically diſpenſed. LA BLETERIE.

Perſonal ſatire was condemned by the law of the twelve tables.

Si mala condiderit in quem quis carmina, jus eſt
Judiciumque. Hor.

Julian owns himſelf ſubject to the law, and the Abbè de la Bleterie has eagerly embraced a declaration ſo agree-

able

even of those; who, as I have in no respect injured them, are hostile aggressors. And, besides, the mode of education, which is at present pursued by persons of fashion *, deprives me of the harmony

able to his own system, and indeed to the true spirit of the Imperial constitution. GIBBON.

* I do not remember elsewhere to have read that poetry was then so much decried. However that might be, in Greece the age of verse was not then over: witness St. Gregory Nazienzen, whose sublime and truly Homeric poems prove that genius and enthusiasm require not the assistance of fable. Julian himself was a poet; and Libanius informs us, that there was a collection of verses made by that prince to celebrate the arrival of some men of learning at his court. Two small pieces of his writing are all that now remain. In one of them, he elegantly and forcibly describes an organ, consisting, like ours, of pipes, bellows, and stops. The other is an epigram "against beer." It must have been made in the Gauls. LA BLETERIE.

Of the latter, M. de la Bleterie has given a paraphrase, or imitation, in French. The following are close translations of them both. The originals, as literary curiosities, are annexed.

The Emperor Julian on an Organ.

Reeds strike my wond'ring eyes, unknown before,
Sprung from some brazen soil, some foreign shore;
Fruitless our efforts, for in vain we blow,
Till, from a cave of leather, winds below
To hollow pipes harmonious powers impart:
Then, if some master, in th' Orphéan art
Experienc'd, touch the well-according keys,
Instant they warble, and responsive please.

Ἰουλιανοῦ Βασιλέως εἰς τὸ ὄργανον.

Ἀλλοίη ὁρῶ δόναξιν φυσιν· ἠπὺ ἀπ' ἀλλης
Χαλκείης ταχα μᾶλλον ἀνιδρατησαν ἀρωγῆς.
Ἀργοὶ, ἐὰν ἀνεμοισιν ὑφ' ἡμέτεροις δονεωνται,
Ἀλλ' ὑπο ταυρείης πρυθέρων σπηλυγγος ακλης

mony of numbers. For it seems now as dishonourable to cultivate poetry, as it was in former times to be unjustly rich.

I will

Νερθεν ὑϋτηλων καλαμων υπο ριζαν οδευει.
Και τις ανηρ αγερωχος *, εχων δοχ δακτυλα χειρες,
Ισαλαι αμφαφοων κανονας συμφραδμονας αυλων †·
Οι δ' απαλον σκιρτωντες αποθλιβουσιν ακοιδην.

Mersennus has inserted a Latin translation of this epigram, in his lib. III. *De Organis*, p. 113. and Zarlino, who wrote in 1571, is of opinion, that the organ here mentioned was essentially the same with the organ of his time. But the introduction of it into churches is generally ascribed to Pope Vitellianus, who was advanced to the Pontificate, A. D. 663. Dr. Priestley indeed (History of the Corruptions of Christianity, vol. II. p. 122.) by some mistake, supposes it to be introduced into churches by Marinus Sanutus so late as 1312. An organ is mentioned by Gervase the monk, who wrote in 1200, as having been sometime erected in Canterbury Cathedral, over St. Michael's chapel (*ubi organa solent esse*), and the foundation of its loft remains to this day. An hydraulic organ (of which Sir John Hawkins has given a sketch from Kircher) is described by Vitruvius, who lived in the reign of Augustus. The following note is from Dr. Burney.

The most ancient proof of an instrument resembling a modern organ blown by bellows, and played by keys, very different from the *Hydraulicon* (or water-organ) which is of much higher antiquity, is a Greek epigram in the *Anthologia*, attributed to the Emperor Julian the Apostate, who flourished about 364 ‡.

I shall here give a literal translation of this epigram, which, though it contain no very beautiful or poetical images, will answer the historical purpose of ascertaining

* A tall sturdy fellow, "alluding to the force necessary to beat down that kind of clumsy carillon keys of this rude instrument of new invention. BURNEY.

† The rulers of the pipes, literally *keys*. *Ibid.*

‡ This is a small chronological mistake, as Julian died in June, 363.

the

I will not, however, totally disclaim the assistance of the Muses. I have seen the barbarous nations beyond the Rhine delighted with the melody of savage music, whose notes resemble the dissonant screams of birds. Bad musicians disgust

the existence of an instrument in the fourth century, which in many particulars resembled a modern organ.

" I see reeds of a new species, the growth of another " and a brazen soil; such as are not agitated by our winds, " but by a blast that rushes from a leathern cavern be- " neath their roots; while a robust mortal, running with " swift fingers over the concordant keys, makes them, as " they smoothly dance, utter concordant sounds."

Nothing material is omitted in the version of this epigram, or rather enigma, upon the organ, though not a very ingenious one; for the word *αυλων*, *the pipes*, discovers the whole mystery. BURNEY.

The Emperor Julian on Barley-wine.

Who, what art thou? thy name, thy birth declare:
Thou art no Bacchus, I by Bacchus swear.
Jove's son alone I know, I know not thee;
Thou smell'st like goats, but sweet as nectar he.
In Gallia, thirsty Gallia, thou wert born,
Scanty of grapes, but prodigal of corn.
Bromus, not Bremius, styl'd, thy brows with corn,
As sprung from Ceres, not from Jove, adorn.

The turn, or pun, at the conclusion, cannot be preserved in English. *Bromius* was one name of Bacchus, from *Βρεμω*, " to rave," like the Bacchanals. And Julian gives the name of *Bromus* to beer, from *Βρομος*, " oats." Such, however, is the improvement of climates, that modern Gaul produces as much and as good wines as Italy; and Britain more and better beer than ancient Gaul.

Ιουλιανε Βασιλευ; εις οινον απο κριθης.
Τις; ποθεν εις, Διονυσε; μαγας τον αληθεα Βακχον,
Ου σ' επιγινωσκω· τον Διος οιδα μονον.
Κεινος νεκταρ οδωδε· συ δε τραγον. η ρα σε Κελτοι
Τη πεινη βοτρυων τευξαν απ' αγαχνων.
Τω σε χρη καλεειν Δημητριον, η Διονυσον,
Πυρογενη μαλλον, και Βρομον, η Βρομιον.

their hearers, but they are naturally pleasing to themselves. Reflecting on this, I have been wont to whisper to myself, not indeed with equal address, but, I am certain, with equal magnanimity, what Ismenias * said of old, "I will sing for the Muses "and myself." But my song is in prose, and will contain many bitter sarcasms, not on others, by Jupiter, (for how can that be, as they are illegal?) but on the author himself. For no law forbids my writing a panegyrick or satire on myself; though if I were desirous of praising myself, I could not, but blame I can in many instances.

And, first, I will begin with my face. To this, formed by nature not over beautiful, graceful, or becoming, my own perverseness and singularity have added this long beard †, to punish it, as it were,

* Ismenias was a very skilful player on the flute. Julian is the only one who ascribes to him this expression. Cicero, [in his Brutus, c. 50.] puts one very like it in the mouth of Antigenidas, another player on the flute, who, in order to encourage one of his scholars, whom the public did not relish, said to him, "Play for the Muses, and for me."

La Bleterie.

† Some friends, for whose understanding and taste I have the highest respect, supposing themselves to speak in the name of the nation, requested me to suppress entirely the idea which Julian here conveys. It is only by sufferance that they have allowed me to intimate it by one rapid word. For my own part, I was afraid of giving a handle to infidelity. Will the French delicacy go so far as to falsify authors? The more disgusting this passage of Julian is, the more it characterises him; and every thing that characterises, when it does not offend good manners or religion, should

were, for no other reaſon but becauſe Nature has not made it handſome. Therefore I ſuffer lice to ſcamper about it, like beaſts through a thicket: I cannot indulge myſelf in eating voraciouſly, and muſt be cautious of opening my mouth wide when I drink, leſt I ſwallow as many hairs as crumbs. As for kiſſing, and being kiſſed, they give me not the leaſt trouble.

Yet amongſt other inconveniences of my beard, this is one, that it prevents my joining pure lips to ſmooth, and, I think, much ſweeter lips, as was formerly obſerved * by one, who, inſpired by Pan

ſhould be ſacred to a tranſlator. As the notes admit anything, here follows a faithful tranſlation of the paſſage in queſtion; excepting that the original calls the things by their name. [In the French tranſlation therefore φθειρων, "lice," are rendered by *de petits animaux incommodes*, "ſome "little troubleſome animals," which might as well be fleas. And why not *des inſectes*, or *de la vermine?*] That a Roman emperor ſhould boaſt of ſuch a circumſtance, and that he ſhould boaſt of it falſely, as I ſuppoſe, is, literally ſpeaking, a ſingular ſtroke, which paints Julian better than a thouſand volumes. LA BLETERIE.

The friends of the Abbè de la Bleterie adjured him, in the name of the French nation, not to tranſlate this paſſage ſo offenſive to their delicacy. Like him, I have contented myſelf with a tranſient alluſion; but the little animal, which Julian names, "is a beaſt familiar to man, "and ſignifies love." [Shakſpeare, 2 Hen. IV.] GIBBON.

Mr. Gibbon's "tranſient alluſion" is "the ſhaggy and "populous beard," and "*la barbe longue et peuplée*" is the "rapid word" of M. de la Bleterie.

* Theocritus, Idyll. XII. 32.

Ος δε κε τερσαιξη γλυκιερωτερα χειλεσι χειλη, κ. τ. λ.

He who ſhall lips to lips moſt ſweetly join, &c.

ſpeaking of a garland that was preſented at the tomb of Diocles to the youth who gave the ſweeteſt kiſs.

and Calliope, made ſome verſes on Daphnis *. You ſay, that "it is only fit to twiſt into ropes." That I would readily allow, provided you could ſo artfully extract the briſtles, as to prevent their hurting your ſoft and tender fingers. Think not that this offends me; for I will give you a reaſon why I wear a chin like a goat, inſtead of making it ſmooth and bare like thoſe of beautiful boys, and of all women by nature lovely. You, ſuch is the delicacy, and perhaps ſimplicity, of your manners, even when old, imitate your ſons and daughters by ſtudiouſly ſhaving your chins, thus diſplaying the man by the forehead only, and not, like me, by the cheeks. But not contented with this length of beard, my head is alſo naſty and ſeldom combed, my nails are unpared, and my fingers are uſually black with ink. And, to tell you a ſecret, my boſom too is rough and hairy, like the mane of the lion, king of beaſts, nor have I ever made it ſmooth, ſuch is my meanneſs and illiberality. If I had any wart, I would readily diſcloſe it, as Cimon did, but at preſent in truth I have none.

* The ſon of Mercury, whoſe ſtory is ſung in the firſt Idyllium. Diodorus Siculus ſuppoſes him to have been the firſt author of bucolic poetry; and, agreeably to this, Theon, an old ſcholiaſt on Theocritus, in his note on the firſt Idyllium, ver. 141. mentioning Daphnis, ſays, "he "was the inventor of bucolics." Be that as it may, this Daphnis was probably the firſt ſubject of bucolic ſongs.

FAWKES.

Theocritus has alſo an epigram "to Daphnis ſleeping." The above is a note of the tranſlator.

Another

Another circumſtance, well known to you, I will alſo mention. Not ſatisfied with ſuch an uncomely perſon, I lead a very rigid life. I abſent myſelf from the theatres, through mere ſtupidity; nor do I allow a play at court, ſuch a dolt am I, except on the calends of the year *, when I reſemble a poor farmer bringing his rent, or taxes, to a rapacious landlord; and when I am there, I ſeem as ſolemn as at a ſacrifice †. As it is not long ſince you ſaw him, you may recollect the youth, the genius, and underſtanding of my predeceſſor ‡; my way of life, ſo different from his, is a ſufficient proof of my frowardneſs.

But to add ſomething farther; I have always hated horſe-races as much as a debtor hates the forum. Therefore I ſeldom reſort to them, except on the feſtivals of the Gods, nor do I ever paſs

* The calends of January were celebrated by the ancient Heathens with all kinds of public mirth and laſciviouſneſs, and for a long time were devoted by the Chriſtians to no very different amuſements. PETAU.

† There is in the original a ſentence which I omit. The paſſage is certainly faulty, and ſo it is thought to be by F. Petau. Literally tranſlated it would be thus: "I "have no poſſeſſions; and though I am ſtyled the great king, "like a præfect or duke, I am in fact a king, or general, of "players and charioteers." But this ſenſe does not connect with that which precedes and follows it. The MSS. have here given me no aſſiſtance. LA BLETERIE.

For the ſame reaſon it is alſo omitted here.

‡ Conſtantius. It is needleſs to ſay, this is ironical. The "genius and underſtanding" of Conſtantius Julian deſpiſed; and as to his "youth," he was 44 years old when he died.

the whole day there, as was the practice of my cousin *, my uncle †, and my brother ‡; but after seeing six races §, and that not with the keenness of a sportsman, but, by Jupiter, with disgust and aversion, I depart with joy. But enough of my public conduct. And yet how few of my offences against you have I mentioned!

As to domestic affairs, sleepless nights on straw, and food less than enough, give a severity to my manners, totally repugnant to a luxurious city ‖. Be not offended with me for this **. A great and foolish

* Constantius.

† Count Julian. See Epistle XIII.

‡ Gallus. Julian styles him (as he was) "his half-brother."

§ Out of four and twenty, which was the usual number. A twenty-fifth race, or *missus*, was added, to complete the number of one hundred chariots, four of which, the four colours, started each heat.

Centum quadrijugos agitabo ad flumina cursus.

It appears that they ran five or seven times round the *meta*, and (from the measure of the *Circus Maximus* at Rome, the Hippodrome at Constantinople, &c.) it might be about a four-mile course. GIBBON.

‖ The private life of Julian in Gaul, and the severe discipline which he embraced, are displayed by Ammianus. (xvi. 5) who professes to praise, and by Julian himself, who affects to ridicule, a conduct which in a prince of the family of Constantine might justly excite the surprise of mankind. *Ibid.*

** It may not be improper to add here the picture which Libanius draws of Julian's manner of life. "Always abstemious, and never oppressed by food, he applied himself to business with the activity of a bird, and dispatched it with infinite ease. In one and the same day he gave several audiences; he wrote to cities, to magistrates, to generals of armies, to his absent friends, to those who were

foolish mistake has from my childhood induced me to wage war with my stomach. I therefore never allow it to be filled with food. Consequently, to nothing am I so little addicted as to vomiting: and this, I remember, befell me once only since I became Cæsar; and that by accident, not repletion. It may not be amiss to relate the story, not that I think it entertaining, but as it was to me of the utmost consequence.

I happened to be in winter quarters at my dear Lutetia *; for so the Gauls call the town of the Parisians.

" were on the spot; hearing letters read that were addressed " to him, examining petitions, and dictating with such ra- " pidity, that the short-hand writers could not keep pace " with him. He alone had the secret of hearing, speaking, " and writing at the same time; and in this multitude of " complicated operations he never mistook. After having " dispatched business, and dined merely through urgent ne- " cessity, shutting himself up in his library, he read and com- " posed till the instant when affairs of state summoned him " to other labours. A supper still more sparing than the " dinner was followed by a sleep as light as his meals. " He awaked in order to labour with other secretaries " whom he had allowed to sleep on the preceding day. " His ministers were obliged to relieve each other; but, as " for himself, he knew no repose but the change of em- " ployment. He alone was always labouring, he multi- " plied himself, and assumed as many forms as Proteus. " Julian was pontiff, author, diviner, judge, general of " the army, and, in all these characters, the father of his " country." *Liban. Orat. Parent.* La Bleterie.

* Leucetia, or Lutetia, was the ancient name of the city, which, according to the fashion of the IVth century, assumed the territorial appellation of *Parisii*.

The licentiousness and corruption of Antioch recalled to the memory of Julian the severe and simple manners of his " beloved

Parisians. It is situated in a small island; two wooden bridges lead to it, and the river seldom rises or falls, but is generally of the same depth both in summer and winter. The water is very clear to the eye, and pure to the taste *. This is of great importance

" beloved Lutetia;" where the amusements of the theatre were unknown or despised. He indignantly contrasted the effeminate Syrians with the brave and honest simplicity of the Gauls, and almost forgave the intemperance which was the only stain of the Celtic character. If Julian could now revisit the capital of France, he might converse with men of science and genius, capable of understanding and of instructing a disciple of the Greeks; he might excuse the lively and graceful follies of a nation, whose martial spirit has never been enervated by the indulgence of luxury, and he must applaud the perfection of that inestimable art which softens, and refines, and embellishes the intercourse of social life. GIBBON.

Worthy patriot! Enlightened philosopher!

Whatever "softens, refines, and embellishes" human life, in a proper degree, is certainly desirable. But why must France be commended with such warmth of approbation, as if she possessed this "inestimable art" exclusively? I think in this polished and enlightened age, the art is known and practised in England, as much as is consistent with the national character, and the preservation of that manly spirit which is necessary to the existence of civil liberty; an "inestimable" blessing, which enlarges, and ennobles, and secures all the natural rights and enjoyments of human nature.

I cannot think it consistent with a good citizen, and a lover of one's country, to admire and extol the "martial "spirit" of that nation, which is at this moment most hostile to all we hold dear, and which in the present war has behaved with such perfidy as would stigmatise an individual in private life with perpetual disgrace. KNOX.

* Julian gives the water of this river a better character than is usually allowed it, in modern times at least, and

importance to the inhabitants, as they are islanders. The winter there is extremely mild, which is attributed to the warmth of the sea, it not being above ninety stadia distant *; so that wholesome exhalations from the ocean are perhaps wafted thither, salt-water being warmer than fresh. Whether this be the reason, or some other unknown to me, such is the fact, the inhabitants of that country have mild winters; good wines therefore are produced there, and some have even raised figs by covering them with mats by way of cloathing, and other such preservatives from the inclemency of the weather.

The winter was then uncommonly severe, and the river supported blocks, as it were, of marble, (you know, without doubt, the Phrygian quarries, which large flakes of ice †, floating on each other, greatly resemble) forming a kind of continual passage and a stream of bridges. Being, on this occasion, more boorish than usual, I would not suffer my servants to warm the chamber in which I

and especially by foreigners. A late writer, a Frenchman too, expresses himself thus: "The Seine-water relaxes "the stomach of those who are not used to it. Foreigners "generally suffer the inconvenience of a slight diarrhœa; "but they might avoid it if they had the precaution of "putting a spoonful of white vinegar into every pint of "water." *Tableau de Paris.*

* The calculation is just; but I will not be answerable for the natural philosophy of the Parisians of those times. LA BLETERIE.

† The inhabitants of Antioch had never seen the river bear. *Ibid.*

slept,

slept, though the cold increased and grew every day more intense, lest it should draw the damp out of the walls. I only ordered some lighted brands, and a few live coals, to be carried in and placed there. These exhaled so much vapour from the walls, that, my head being oppressed, I fell asleep, and narrowly escaped suffocation. But being carried into the air, and, by the advice of my physicians, disgorging the food that I had just swallowed, though I did not discharge much, I was immediately relieved, so as to pass an easy night, and on the next day I was again fit for business.

Thus, while I resided among the Gauls, like the Humourist * of Menander, I led an austere life. This, however, gave no offence to that rustic nation †. But such a rich, flourishing, and populous city as yours is justly displeased; a city, in which are many dancers, many pipers, more players than

* Δυσκολος, the title of a comedy of Menander.

† Though the Gauls had long become Romans, foreign manners had not yet penetrated into the northern parts of Gaul. Politeness, with its advantages and inconveniences, makes the tour of the world. If Julian were now to revisit his "dear Lutetia," would he take it for Antioch? No. He would find there so much love and respect for the sovereign, that he would be soon undeceived.

LA BLETERIE.

Spoken like a Frenchman! Julian would never have thought highly of the sense, or sincerity, of a people who could "love and respect" such a sovereign as Louis XV. in whose reign the above note was written.

citizens, and no respect for sovereigns. A blush befits only the pusillanimous; but such heroes as you should revel in the morning, pursue pleasure at night, and not only teach by words, but shew by deeds, your utter contempt of the laws. Those therefore, who, like you, insult the prince, offer a still greater insult to the laws. That such is your delight you frequently and clearly demonstrate, particularly in the forum and the theatre; the people by shouts and clamour; the magistrates by their extravagance, which gains them more distinction and applause, from all to whom they have given these expensive entertainments, than Solon, the Athenian, obtained from his conversation with Crœsus, king of Lydia *. All there are handsome, smooth and beardless; all, both young and old, imitate alike the happiness of the Phæacians †, and

Variety of dresses, baths, amours,

they prefer, without hesitation, to what is just and right.

ANTIOCHIAN. And do you think, Julian, that your rusticity, savageness, and moroseness are suit-

* Every one knows the journey which Solon took to the court of king Crœsus, and the truths which he dared utter to that prince, intoxicated, as he was, with opulence and grandeur. LA BLETERIE.

† The island of Phæacia is now the island of Corfu. Homer, (Odyss. VIII. 249.) represents the Phæacians as a nation given up to good cheer, luxury, music, dancing, and all kinds of pleasure. *Ibid.*

able

able to us? O thou most ignorant and odious * of all men, is your temperate, little animal, as some mean mortals have styled your soul, so mad and foolish, that you think it requires the ornaments and trappings of wisdom? In this you are mistaken; for, first, tell us, as we know not, what wisdom is? With the name only we are acquainted, but of the meaning we are ignorant. If it be that which you now practise, it consists in enforcing subordination to the Gods and the laws, in teaching equals to bear with equals, in observing moderation, in preventing the poor from being oppressed by the rich, and, for these purposes, stifling resentment, encountering enmity, anger, reproaches; in short, supporting all these with firmness, without being provoked, or giving way to passion, but keeping it, as much as possible, in proper bounds, and under due subjection. And if it should also be deemed a branch of wisdom to renounce even those pleasures which are not unbecoming, nor seem dishonourable, from a persuasion that it is impossible for any one to be temperate at home, and in private, who is dissolute abroad, and in public, and enamoured of the theatre; if this too be wisdom, you ruin yourself, and you would also ruin us. The very name of

* Φιλαπεχθημονεστατε, "who art most fond of being hated." This is one of the many Greek words which can only be rendered by a periphrasis. M. de la Bleterie has translated it *le plus haïssable*. It occurs again in the close of this satire.

servitude either to the Gods or the laws disgusts us. Liberty is sweet in all things.

Of what prevarication are you guilty? You say, you are not Lord *, nor can you endure the name. You

* The word *dominus*, which the Greeks translated by κυριος and δεσποτης [or "lord"] properly signified the power of masters over their slaves. Under Augustus, children already gave that name to their father, sometimes brothers gave it to their brothers, and wives to their husbands, who returned them that of *domina*. Augustus suffered none but his slaves to give him that title, nor even his children and grand-children to treat him as "lord" by way of joke. *Dominum appellari se nec a liberis quidem aut nepotibus suis vel serio vel joco passus est, atque hujusmodi blanditias inter ipsos prohibuit.* Suet. Aug. Satisfied with having destroyed liberty, he scrupulously banished every thing that could induce a thought of slavery. Some one having called Tiberius "Lord," he said, with an angry look, that he did not like to be affronted. "I am," added he, "the prince of the senate, and the general of the "army; but I am lord only of my slaves." Caligula took the name of Lord, and even that of God. But none of the emperors who succeeded him, not even Nero, followed his example, till Domitian, who expressly commanded himself to be called Lord and God, both in letters and in speech. One day, dictating an edict, he began it with these words, "Our Lord and our God ordains what fol-"lows." It appears, by the letters of Pliny the younger, that Trajan, averse as he was to that impious pride, suffered himself, nevertheless, to be called Lord; but at that we must not be surprised. The more slavery augmented, the more complimentary the nation became. In the time of Seneca they gave each other the title of "Lord," almost as commonly as we give one another the appellation of "Sir," which is much less significant. *Obvios, si nomen non succurrit, dominos appellamus.* Men gave women that of *domina* as soon as they were fourteen years old. How it was used by the successors of Trajan is not known. Certain it is, that Alexander, the son of Mammea, rejected the title of Lord as too ostentatious.

You resent it so much, that you have induced many, who were formerly accustomed to it, to banish it from the empire, as invidious; yet you oblige us to obey the magistrates and the laws. How much better would it be for us to call you Lord, but in fact to be allowed freedom! O mild in appearance *, but in deeds most cruel! How unmerciful

tations. At last this name made part of the ceremonial of the court, and was inserted even in the public monuments. It is affirmed, that it is not found on any medal till those of Aurelian, and even on them it is rare: it is more common on those of Carus, and frequent on those of Diocletian, his collegues, and his successors. Julian had not time to abolish it. It is read on many of his.

La Bleterie.

As Julian never abolished, by any public law, the proud appellations of *Despot*, or *Dominus*, they are still extant on his medals, (*Ducange*, *Fam. Byzantin. pp.* 38, 39.) and the private displeasure which he affected to express only gave a different tone to the servility of the court. The Abbé de la Bleterie has curiously traced the origin and progress of the word *dominus* under the Imperial government. Gibbon.

In the Hippolytus of Euripides, an officer says to that prince,

My royal Master, (for the Gods alone
Challenge the name of Lord,) &c.

on which Mr. Wodhull observes, after mentioning the practice of Augustus and Tiberius, that "we find, by the "Misopogon of Julian, that he followed their example at "Constantinople" [rather Antioch] "in much later times, "surrounded, as he was, by Asiatic slaves, inured to the "yoke, men to whom the sight of a philosopher on the "throne was so strange, that they ridiculed that moderation "in the conduct of their sovereign, which they felt themselves incapable of imitating."

* In the original, ομματα ("eyes") perhaps for ονοματα ("names") for Julian was called by his friends πραοτατος και φιλοσοφωτατος, "the mildest and most philosophical." Theod. l. III. c. 15. Petav.

He

merciful is it to require moderation from the rich in the courts of juſtice, and to reſtrain the poor from ſlander! By aboliſhing the ſtage, the players, and the dancers, you have ruined our city, ſo that we have no conſolation left, except, after having groaned under your oppreſſions for ſeven months *, that of referring our prayers for a deliverance from ſo great an evil to the old women † who conſtantly frequent the tombs of the dead. But we have ſucceeded by our ſcurrility, transfixing you with ſarcaſms as with arrows. If you are thus intimidated by our taunts, how, noble Sir, will you be able to ſuſtain the darts of the Perſians?

But we will now exhibit another charge. You reſort frequently to the temples, perverſe, moroſe, and abandoned as you are. On your account, the populace, and even many of the magiſtrates, flock thither, and welcome you with ſhouts, acclamations, and all the ſplendid applauſes of the theatre. Why then are you not pleaſed? But, in-

He had probably in his view that line of Homer's Achilles,

—— Κυνος ομματ' εχων, κραδιην δ' ελαφοιο.

Thou dog in forehead, but in heart a deer,

as Pope tranſlates it.

* Julian arrived at Antioch in the month of July, 362. He therefore compoſed the Miſopogon in the month of January, or of February, 363. LA BLETERIE.

† The churches were generally built over the tomb of ſome martyr. Julian ſuppoſes that the women, more aſſiduous at the churches than the men, requeſted God by the interceſſion of the martyrs to deliver them from him. In that there might be ſome truth. *Ibid.*

ſtead of approving, you endeavour, in this reſpect, to be wiſer even than the Pythian *, by haranguing the people, and ſeverely reproving thoſe who clamour †; thus addreſſing the moſt active: "You "ſeldom enter the temples, through reverence to "the Gods, but when you reſort to them on my ac- "count, you fill their ſanctuaries with diſturbance. "Men of ſound minds ſhould pray and aſk bleſ- "ſings of the Gods in ſilence, obſerving this rule "of Homer,

"Silently pray ‡.

"Remember too that Ulyſſes checked Euryclea ||,

* The prieſteſs of Apollo, who delivered his oracles ſtanding on a tripod called Cortina, which was placed on the mouth of a hollow in Mount Parnaſſus, whence proceeded a vapour that affected the head; and round this hollow was built the temple of Delphi.

† In his LXIVth Epiſtle Julian reproves the people of Conſtantinople on the ſame account.

‡ In the VIIIth book of the Iliad, ver. 193, &c. Ajax, ready to fight with Hector, ſays,

Now while my brighteſt arms my limbs inveſt,
To Saturn's ſon be all your vows addreſt.
But *pray in ſecret*, leſt the foes ſhould hear,
And deem your prayers the mean effect of fear.
Said I in ſecret? No, your vows declare,
In ſuch a voice as fills the earth and air. Pope, 229.

How could Julian find, in theſe words of Ajax, a law which enjoins to "pray in ſilence?" All the Greeks had the practice of quoting Homer at random. It is vexatious to ſee authors, infinitely more reſpectable than Homer, ſometimes quoted with as little propriety. LA BLETERIE.

|| Euryclea was the nurſe of Ulyſſes. See Odyſſ. XXII. 411.

"when

" when she loudly expressed her astonishment at
" the greatness of the deed;

" Woman, experienc'd as thou art, controul
" Indecent joy, and feast thy secret soul *.

" None of the Trojans in the Iliad, neither
" men nor women, are made suppliant to Priam,
" or to any one of his daughters, or sons, not
" even to Hector, though it is said they extolled
" him as a God: but to Minerva all the women,
" he says,

" With hands uplifted, and imploring eyes,
" Fill all the dome with supplicating cries †.

" This, indeed, was suitable to Barbarians and
" women, but was no impiety towards the Gods,
" such as you commit by praising mortals like
" Gods, or rather flattering us more than Gods;
" when, instead of flattering even them, you had
" much better worship them wisely."

JULIAN. I repeat, you see, one of those remonstrances which I have been accustomed to make, and, instead of speaking boldly and freely, with my usual absurdity, I bear false witness against myself. Are these, and the like, proper lessons for those who would treat with freedom not only princes, but also the Gods? Can they deem any one a mild and benevolent parent, who is naturally wicked like me?

* Pope, 448.

† Iliad. vi. 301. Pope, 374.

ANT. It is plain then, Julian, that they hate you, and that they jeer you both in public and private, since those who see and applaud you in the temples you deem flatterers. You have not studied how to accommodate yourself to their ideas, lives, and manners. Well, but who can excuse this? You sleep almost every night alone *, nor can

* Καθεύδεις ως επιπαν νυκτωρ μονος. "You sleep *almost always* "alone." How is this "*almost always*" to be reconciled with the perfect continence which the Pagan authors ascribe to Julian, and which none of the Christian writers, not even St. Gregory Nazianzen himself, deny? Mamertinus scruples not to say that "the bed of that prince was "purer than that of the Vestals." If we believe Libanius, Julian never had the least frailty, either before his marriage, or after the death of his wife Helena. What that orator says is susceptible of no ambiguity or exception. I will content myself with quoting the Latin translation of Fabricius: *Nisi conjugii vinculis à Junone fuisset innexus, de mutuis hominum amplexibus, non aliâ ratione quam ex libris sermonibusque edoctus, moriturus fuisset . . . . Legitimam quidem luxit uxorem; aliam vero nullam, sive antea, sive post fœminam attigit*, &c.

It may be replied, that Mamertinus and Libanius are panegyrists. But what shall we say of Ammianus, whose testimony is as positive as that of Libanius? Ammianus is a most judicious historian, and does not spare Julian for any of his faults. He knew him perfectly, and seems even to have interrogated, on the point in dispute, those domestics of Julian to whom his frailties, supposing he had any, could not but be known. *Ita inviolatâ castitate enituit, ut post amissam conjugem*, nihil unquam *venereum agitaret . . . ut ne suspicione quidem tenùs libidinis ullius vel* citerioris vitæ ministris *incusaretur*. Ammianus was of Antioch. Though he wrote in Latin, he was better acquainted with Greek. He had read the Misopogon. Perhaps then Martimius, the Latin translator of this satire, M. de Fleury, M. de Tillemont,

can any thing soften your savage and brutal disposition. You have closed up all the avenues of pleasure,

mont, and myself translate this passage of Julian improperly, and the Greek words ὡς ἐπὶπαν do not signify here "almost always," but "always," absolutely. At least, it is certain that ἐπὶπαν occurs in both significations. In this case, I ought to have translated it, "You never share "your bed with any one." I think, however, that it ought to be translated, as I have done, "You share scarce ever." This restriction seems to me a refined but severe raillery against the inhabitants of Antioch, from which nothing can be inferred against the chastity of Julian. It is in their name that he abuses himself. He must therefore speak their language. Throughout the whole satire he represents them as persons immersed in debauchery, and abandoned to the most infamous pleasures. People of this character do not believe in virtue. They suppose all men to be vicious, and that they only differ in vice as to the more and the less. On the part of Julian, whose morals were superior to all suspicion, it is a stroke of pleasantry to represent his enemies as persuaded that his wisdom suffered eclipses, and making, nevertheless, his excess of wisdom a crime in him. M. de Tillemont, who understands the text in question literally, and considers it as a confession, which Julian himself makes, of his incontinence, observes, in order to strengthen this pretended avowal, that Julian, in an Epistle to the philosopher Jamblicus [the XLth] speaks of the man "who nursed his children." This learned writer adds, that Codin, in his Antiquities of Constantinople, mentions some statues of Julian and his children. "Now," says M. de Tillemont, "he never "had any legitimate, excepting a son, who was destroyed "by the midwife that was suborned by the empress Eusebia: "the fact is certain; he therefore had some illegitimate."

Let us briefly examine these two difficulties, always remembering that the Pagans, on the one side, pass an elogium on the chastity of Julian, the completest, the most forcible, and the most exclusive of the least restriction; and that, on the other side, the Christians, far from controvert-

pleasure, and, which is the greatest of evils, you delight in leading such a rigid life, and make pleasure the subject of your detestation. In short, you are angry at the mention of this, though you ought rather to thank those who have kindly and harmoniously admonished you in anapæsts, first, to shave those cheeks, and then, having begun with yourself, to exhibit all pleasurable entertainments to this laughter-loving people, such as players, dancers, and, in particular, lewd women, public assemblies, and festivals, not sacred indeed, in which wisdom and temperance must be observed *, for these are as abundant as acorns, so as to occasion a general disgust.

JULIAN. The Emperor, I allow, sacrificed once in the temple of Jupiter, and afterwards in that of

ing those elogiums, have not said a word that can render them suspected. This established, what stress ought to be laid on the mere indication of a modern Greek, such as George Codin, who is known to have survived the taking of Constantinople by Mahomet II.? If Julian had had bastards, would he have erected statues to them? Would he, who said, that "incontinence is sufficient to tarnish "the best life," have published his own shame, and that of his children, in tender age? &c. LA BLETERIE.

For what is said on the passage above-mentioned in the XLth Epistle, see the notes on that Epistle.

This suspicious expression (ὡς πιστεύω) is explained by the Abbè de la Bleterie, with candour and ingenuity.

GIBBON.

* This is not absolutely contrary to what is related of the extravagant processions of Julian on the festivals of Venus and others. All the Pagan festivals were not so licentious as those of Venus. LA BLETERIE.

Fortune,

Fortune *. He also went thrice to that of Ceres. I forget how often I went to the temple of Daphne, that august fabrick which was betrayed by the treachery of the keepers, and by the presumption of the impious †. On the Syrian calends ‡, Cæsar goes

* Genius and Fortune were *Dii Contubernales*, and had temples dedicated to them jointly. See *Pausan. Bœotic.* p. 313. Hence what Ammianus calls *Genii templum* (XXIII. 1.) Julian here styles θεοῖν, the one a male, the other a female, deity; the images of both being set up together. Modern antiquaries, as well as artists, by a kind of mythological solecism, have confounded that distinction, who call a female deity the Genius of a city. BOWYER.

† After Babylas (a bishop of Antioch, who died in prison in the persecution of Decius) had rested near a century in his grave, his body, by the order of the Cæsar Gallus, was transported into the midst of the grove of Daphne. A magnificent church was erected over his remains; a portion of the sacred lands was usurped for the maintenance of the clergy, and for the burial of the Christians of Antioch, who were ambitious of lying at the feet of their bishop; and the priests of Apollo retired, with their affrighted and indignant votaries. As soon as another revolution seemed to restore the fortune of Paganism, the church of St. Babylas was demolished, and new buildings were added to the mouldering edifice which had been raised by the piety of Syrian kings. But the first and most serious care of Julian was to deliver his oppressed deity from the odious presence of the dead and living Christians, who had so effectually suppressed the voice of fraud or enthusiasm. The scene of infection was purified, according to the forms of ancient rituals; the bodies were decently removed; and the ministers of the church were permitted to convey the remains of St. Babylas to their former habitation within the walls of Antioch. The modest behaviour, which might have assuaged the jealousy of an hostile government, was, on this occasion, neglected by the zeal of the Christians. The lofty car, that transported the relics

of Babylas, was followed, and accompanied, and received by an innumerable multitude; who chanted with thundering acclamations, the Psalms of David the most expressive of their contempt for idols and idolaters. The return of the saint was a triumph; and the triumph was an insult on the religion of the Emperor, who exerted his pride to dissemble his resentment. During the night which terminated this indiscreet procession [22 Oct. 362.] the temple of Daphne was in flames, the statue of Apollo was consumed, and the walls of the edifice were left a naked and awful monument of ruin. The Christians of Antioch asserted, with religious confidence, that the powerful intercession of St. Babylas had pointed the lightnings of heaven against the devoted roof; but as Julian was reduced to the alternative of believing either a crime or a miracle, he chose, without hesitation, without evidence, but with some colour of probability, to impute the fire of Daphne to the revenge of the Galileans. GIBBON.

Julian (in Misopogon) rather insinuates, than affirms, their guilt. Ammianus (XXII. 13.) treats the imputation as *levissimus rumor*, and relates the story with extraordinary candour. *Ibid.*

I do not find that Ammianus treats this report in the manner here affirmed. All that he says of it is this: *Suspicabatur enim id Christianos egisse, stimulatos invidiâ, quòd idem templum inviti videbant ambitiosâ circumdari peristylio.* "For "he suspected the Christians to have been the perpetrators, "urged to it by envy on seeing reluctantly that temple "surrounded by a spacious peristyle." Then follows, *Ferebatur autem, licèt rumore levissimo, hâc ex causâ conflagrasse delubrum*, &c. "But it was reported, though *on the slightest* "*grounds*, that this was the cause of the fire: The phi- "losopher Asclepiades, being on a visit to Julian, and "going to that suburb, as he was used to carry with him, "wherever he went, a small silver image of Juno, placed "it at the feet of the great image, and lighting wax tapers, "as usual, departed; from which, in the middle of the "night, when no one could attend or assist, sparks flying "adhered to the very ancient materials," &c. To this story therefore, and not that of the Christians, the *levissimus rumor* is applied.

‡ As in the conclusion of the Misopogon, Julian reckons the Macedonian month *Loüs* the tenth of the Syrian year, this

goes again to the temple of Jupiter Philius *. Then comes the general festival †, and Cæsar goes to the temple of Fortune. Omitting an inauspicious

this year began with the month *Dius*. In the Syrian year, which is used by Eusebius, St. Epiphanius, Eutropius, Malela, &c. the month Dius answers to the month of November. But perhaps the city of Antioch had a Syrian year that was peculiar to it. In different Macedonian cities, the month Dius answered to different Roman months. It is certain that the Syrian year of Antioch began in autumn. We cannot, however, positively assert in which of the Roman months, September, October, or November. This is the result of some learned and judicious observations communicated to me by a friend to whom I owe several of my remarks. LA BLETERIE.

* The patron of friendship, the same with *Hospitalis*, "a bearded face, with a placid look, to denote," says Tristan, "that true friendship is the result of age." He had a temple at Antioch, where Julian sacrificed to him more than once, during his residence there; pleased, no doubt, to have so good an authority for his beard, which as the inhabitants little regarded in Jupiter, no wonder they ridiculed in the Emperor. BOWYER.

† The calends of January [mentioned above, p. 231.] when the consuls entered on their office, and the priests, in a solemn procession, offered vows for the public safety of the empire, or of the Roman senate and people.

This therefore Libanius, in like manner (in his description of the calends), styles "a general festival to all who "live under the Roman government." SPANHEIM.

This day was deemed a festival throughout all the Roman world, though all did not begin the year with it. For instance, the Romans then commenced the year with Dius, which answers to the Julian November: Therefore, in the above passage of Julian ἡ Συρων Νεομηνια, ("the Syrian "calends,) are the first day of the month Dius. This passage has been misunderstood by Martinius, the [Latin] translator. VALOIS.

day,

day *, he again pays his vows in the temple of Jupiter Philius, after the manner of his anceſtors †. Who can endure Cæſar's going ſo frequently to the temples, when the Gods ſhould be troubled only once or twice to celebrate thoſe feſtivals which are common to all the people, and of which not only they who honour the Gods, but they alſo with whom the city is filled, participate ‡? What an exquiſite pleaſure and delight does every one conſtantly enjoy in the ſight of a number of dancing men, dancing women, and dancing boys!

Reflecting on theſe things, I cannot but think you happy in ſuch diverſions, and yet I am by no means diſſatisfied with myſelf; for the life I lead, by the influence perhaps of ſome God, is to me agreeable. Believe me, therefore, far from being offended with thoſe who reprobate my life and manners, I even add to their ſarcaſms as many as poſſible, and accumulate on myſelf more reproaches for being ſuch a fool as not to perceive at firſt what were the manners of this city, eſpecially as none of my contemporaries, I am certain, are more converſant with books than myſelf.

* Jan. 2. The days immediately following the calends, nones, and ides were reckoned inauſpicious. *Ov. Triſt.* I. 55. *et ſeq.*

† On Jan. 3, when ſolemn vows were offered for the ſafety of the prince.

‡ He means the games and ſhews at which the Chriſtians, as well as the Gentiles, were preſent, to the great offence of the moſt holy prelates; which St. Chryſoſtom, among others, frequently mentions. PETAU.

It

It is related that the king who was namesake to this city, or rather, to whom it owes its name (for it was built by Seleucus *, but takes its name from his son), Antiochus I mean, from an excessive indulgence in luxurious delights, always loving and being loved, was at length illegally enamoured of his mother-in-law †. He wished to conceal his passion, but could not; his body being emaciated, and secretly decaying, his strength failing, and his mind being languid. His case seemed mysterious, the disorder having no apparent cause, and the nature of it not being known. The young man's illness, however, being certain, the great difficulty proposed to a Samian physician ‡ was, to discover what the distemper was. He, suspecting from Homer what are "the limbs-consuming cares §", and that anxiety of mind, not weakness of body, is often the cause of bodily decay, and observing the youth, as well by years as constitution, to be not averse to love, took this method to discover the disease. He sat down by the bed-side, and looking the young man stedfastly in the face, he desired some beautiful women to be introduced, beginning

* Seleucus Nicator.

† Stratonice, the daughter of Demetrius Poliorcetes, and wife of Seleucus.

‡ Erasistratus.

§ Γυιοδόροι μελεδῶνες, "the anxieties that devour the body." I do not find the word γυιοδόροι in the Index of Homer, made by Wolfgangus Seberus. If the Index be not faulty, Julian is mistaken, or quotes some work of Homer which we do not possess. LA BLETERIE.

with

with the queen. As soon as she appeared, or as soon as he saw her, the youth betrayed some symptoms of his disorder; he breathed short, as if he had been asthmatic, with his utmost endeavours he could not avoid trembling, great was the evident agitation of his mind, and his face was covered with blushes. The physician, observing this, applied his hand to his patient's breast, and found his heart beat violently, as if it would burst forth. Such were his sensations while the queen was present. But when she had withdrawn, while the others were passing by, he remained tranquil, and seemed in perfect health. Having thus discovered his malady, Erasistratus communicated it to the king, and he, being an affectionate father, said, he would resign his wife to his son. He then refused it; but his father dying not long after, the present, which, when offered him before, he nobly declined, he then very eagerly seized *. Such was the conduct of Antiochus.

That his descendants therefore should imitate their founder, or, at least, their namesake, is not blameable. For, as in plants, it is probable that the qualities are widely diffused, and perhaps those which are produced altogether resemble those

* Plutarch relates the story differently in his life of Demetrius. For he says, that Antiochus, the son of Demetrius Poliorcetes, married his mother-in-law in the life-time of his father. PETAU.

which

which produce them; ſo, among men *, the manners of the deſcendants are likely to be ſimilar to thoſe of their anceſtors. Of the Greeks I think the Athenians the moſt liberal and humane; though all the Greeks, I have obſerved, are the ſame, and I can truly affirm of them, that of all men they are the greateſt lovers of the Gods, and moſt hoſpitable to ſtrangers; but of the Greeks, I give this teſtimony chiefly to the Athenians. And if they retain in their manners the reſemblance of ancient virtue, why may not the ſame ſimilitude be traced in the Syrians, the Arabians, the Gauls, the Thracians, the Pannonians, and that nation which is ſituated between the two latter on the banks of the Danube? I mean the Myſians, the ſtock from which I am deſcended †, who are abſolutely inelegant, booriſh, auſtere, uncivilized, and obſtinately tenacious of their opinions, all which are proofs of lamentable ruſticity.

Firſt, therefore, I aſk pardon for myſelf, for imitating the manners of my anceſtors, and then I grant it to you for the ſame offence; nor do I mention, as a reproach, your being

In lying and in wanton dances ſkill'd ‡.

* The inhabitants of Antioch were nothing to Antiochus. The kind of argument which Julian here employs muſt not be underſtood ſeriouſly. It is a mere joke. LA BLETERIE.

† Eutropius, the great grandfather of Julian, and the father of Conſtantius-Chlorus, was of the province of Myſia. *Ibid.*

‡ Iliad. xxiv. 261. Priam's reproach of his nine ſurviving ſons.

On

On the contrary, your following the examples and ſtudies of your fathers I think much to your honour. Thus Homer alſo, praiſing Autolycus, ſays that he excelled all men

In thieving and in ſwearing *.

* Homer, in the xixth book of the Odyſſey, v. 396, ſays, that Autolycus, the maternal grandfather of Ulyſſes, excelled other men, κλεπτοσυνη θ' ορκωι τε, "in theft and oaths." Mad. Dacier, on this paſſage, ſays, in effect, that the word κλεπτοσυνη may ſignify not only "theft," but alſo "cunning, "addreſs, ſtratagem, ſkill to conceal the knowledge of "his ſchemes, to penetrate the ſecrets of others, &c. "and that Homer meant to ſay that Autolycus was a very "acute politician, an artful prince, an able negociator, who "knew how to make treaties to his advantage, but, on the "whole, was faithful to his word, and one who reſpected "his oaths." Admitting the charitable explanation of Mad. Dacier, it is unfortunate for him to have been praiſed by Homer in equivocal terms; for the knavery of Autolycus has grown proverbial. Martial, ſpeaking of a thief, ſays, *Non fuit Autolyci tam piceata manus.* LA BLETERIE.

Dr. Clarke (on the above line in the Odyſſey) underſtands it, however, as a commendation; and Fenton, agreeably to the ſame interpretation, has, in his tranſlation, aſcribed to Autolycus

——————— a mighty name
For ſpotleſs faith, and deeds of martial fame. 456.

Shakſpeare, on the contrary, has given his name to a roguiſh pedlar: "My father," ſays he, "named me "Autolycus, who being, as I am, littered under Mercury, "was likewiſe a ſnapper-up of unconſidered trifles."

Winter's Tale, Act IV. Sc. II.

Euripides had two dramas (now loſt) named Autolycus, the firſt ſatyric (as we learn from Julius Pollux) of which a fragment is preſerved by Galen and Athenæus. Barnes and Dr. Muſgrave ſuppoſe that it derives its name from this Autolycus; but from what is tranſmitted to us, Mr. Wodhull, who has tranſlated it, thinks, with more probability, that another Autolycus, a champion in the public games, was its hero.

And

And so, you say, do I in rusticity, obstinacy, moroseness, in not being easily softened by supplications, or induced by intreaties or clamours, to mind my business. With these reproaches I am not in the least offended. Which of us is the most excusable is known to the Gods, but no man can determine between us, such is our self-love, every one admiring his own endowments, and despising those of others. But he, who bears with indulgence a course of life the reverse of his own, seems to me the most benevolent.

[On reflection, I find that, in some other particulars, I have been much my own enemy. For when I came to a free city, which could not endure the nastiness of my hair, I came to it uncombed and bearded, as if barbers had been wanting *. You would have taken me for Smicrines or Thrasyleon †, a morose old man, or a frantic

* Soon after his entrance into the palace of Constantinople, Julian had occasion for the service of a barber. An officer, magnificently dressed, immediately presented himself. "It is a barber," exclaimed the prince, "that "I want, and not a receiver-general of the finances." He questioned the man concerning the profits of his employment; and was informed, that, besides a large salary, and some valuable perquisites, he enjoyed a daily allowance of twenty servants, and as many horses. GIBBON.

Libanius says, that a thousand cooks, as many barbers (κυρίας ἐκ τελατῶν), more cup-bearers, &c. were distributed in the several offices of luxury which Julian abolished or retrenched.

† These were probably two comic characters of Menander, as Casaubon (*Animadv. in Athenæum*, *l.* vi. *c.* 12.) mentions

frantic soldier, when I might have appeared, by the ornamental advantages of dress, a handsome boy, or, at least, a youth, if not in years *, in effeminacy and features †.]

ANT. You know not how to associate with men; you adopt not the maxims of Theognis ‡, nor imitate (as he recommends) the changeful polypus §,

mentions a comedy by that poet named Thrasyleon. He adds, that there was one of the same name in Latin by Turpilius, a translation, he supposes, from Menander, which is often quoted by Nonius.

* When Julian first came to Antioch, he was thirty-one years old.

† The paragraphs between [ ] are omitted here, and removed lower, by the French translator. They seem indeed a repetition of what was said at the beginning, yet I do not think myself warranted to transpose them, though I thoroughly assent to the propriety of the following remark of M. de la Bleterie, as an excuse for the incorrectness of the author, but not for the corrections of his translator: "In general, the Misopogon is a little unsewed, "and the repetitions in it are too frequent. It was com- "posed perhaps in the space of one or two nights. Julian "was too much employed to be an author by premedi- "tation. When an author scarce reads what he writes, "we cannot wonder at tautology."

‡ Theognis, a poet of Megara, lived about 550 years before the Christian æra. We have some sentences, or maxims, by him, in elegiac verse. LA BLETERIE.

§ Ulysses, clinging to a cliff, is compared to this fish by Homer, Odyss. V. 432. Aristotle, and others, suppose, that it changes its colour, in order more easily to catch its prey, or from fear. St. Paul, who, for good reasons *became all things to all men*, is on that account, compared to a polypus by Julian in his work against the Christian religion, preserved and confuted by Cyril. But its more extraordinary power of re-production was reserved for the speculation of modern naturalists.

which

which assumes the colour of rocks, but, on the contrary, you behave to all with the proverbial rusticity, folly, and morosenes of a Myconian *. Know you not, that we are widely different from the Gauls, the Thracians, and the Illyrians? This city, you see, abounds with shops. But you provoke the retailers by not suffering them to extort, both from natives and foreigners, what price they please for provisions. They complain of the landholders †; but these also you make your enemies,

* Archilochus of Paros writes, that Pericles used to come uninvited to the entertainments of others, after the manner of the Myconians, who inhabiting a barren island [in the Archipelago] were notorious for their avarice and rusticity. ATHENÆUS.

On this proverb see Eustathius (*in Odyss.* XVII.) Suidas, and Zenobius. PETAU.

† This passage is obscure. What follows may explain it. Ammianus says (*l.* XXII.) that Julian, "with no "apparent reason, for the sake of popularity, endea- "voured to make all commodities cheap, which some- "times, by improper management, occasions dearth and "famine." Nor could the magistrates of Antioch dissuade him. By fixing therefore a lower price on things that were to be sold, he made the retailers his enemies. And when those retailers, being charged with the unreasonableness of their demands, complained that they bought corn and provisions dearer of the landholder, he compelled them also, by the same edict, to make abatements. This severity and rigour, exercised against these two ranks, extended to the chief men of the city and the magistrates, who supplied the markets, and owned the lands. And thus they were doubly mulcted. *Ibid.*

The magistrates of Antioch perhaps condescended to sell wine themselves by retail, like some of the present nobility of Florence, as mentioned by Lord Corke, Dr. Smollett, and other travellers.

by obliging them to be juſt. The magiſtrates, who, availing themſelves of both theſe diſtreſſes, rejoiced before at receiving double profits, both as landholders and as retailers, now, on being deprived of both theſe advantages, are equally exaſperated. The Syrians too, at being precluded both from drinking immoderately and dancing laſciviouſly, are no leſs enraged; but by giving them bread in plenty, you think they are ſufficiently regaled. And ſo gracious are you, that you are not contented with procuring them oyſters only.

When a complaint was lately made, that no fiſh, and ſcarce any poultry, could be procured in the markets, you ſaid, with a ſneering laugh, that "a frugal city ought to be ſatisfied with bread, "wine, and oil; that meat was a dainty; but "fiſh and poultry were more than dainties, and "would not have been indulged even to the ſuitors "in Ithaca." Thus you would have us deem pork and mutton luxuries, and ſubſiſt, like you, on vegetables *, thinking that in this you govern well, and

* In the time of Julian, the philoſophers of the reigning ſect, who had blended the Ægyptian and Chaldean tenets with Platoniſm and the ruins of the doctrine of Pythagoras, tranſmitted by a very uncertain tradition, thoſe philoſophers, I ſay, or rather the moſt perfect among them, adopted a very auſtere mode of life, which made part of the doctrine which was revealed, in the myſteries, to the initiated. As Orpheus paſſed for the firſt inſtitutor of the myſteries, it was pretended that this kind of life was that which

and are giving laws to your Thracian countrymen, or to those stupid Gauls, who, by their education, have made you a mere block of holm or maple, not a Marathonian but half an Acharnian * warrior,

one

which Plato and some other ancients have mentioned under the name of "Orphic life," Ὀρφικὸς βίος. This life, which Porphyry preaches in his book, *De abstinentiâ animalium*, consisted in the practice of moral virtues, added to the privation of things allowed in common life. The Orphics must have resembled the Ægyptian priests and the Bramins. Julian had not embraced the Orphic life, but he endeavoured to approach near it. To what I have elsewhere said of his extreme frugality, I will add here what I find in his funeral oration. See the *Bibliotheca Græca* of Fabricius, *vol.* VII. *p.* 309, 310. "What private philosopher "in his cottage," says Libanius, "ever practised an abstinence so rigorous as that of this Emperor? Who deprived himself more often than he, sometimes of one "food, sometimes of another, in honour of Pan, of Mercury, of Hecate, of Isis, of all the deities? Who, like "him, ever took delight in abstaining frequently from all "nourishment? Thus he lived in an intimate connection "with the Gods . . . his body not allowing him to raise "himself to heaven, they descended on earth to converse "with him. They came to instruct him in what he should "do or forbear. . . . He had no occasion for human "wisdom or understanding. The immortal beings, who "know every thing, were both his council and his guard. "By them he was almost always surrounded." After this quotation, to which I could add many similar, no one, I fancy, will have the least doubt of the fanaticism of Julian any more than of that of his panegyrist. LA BLETERIE.

* The Acharnians (so one of the tribes of Athens was called) were valiant, but rough and hardy. In the comedy of Aristophanes, entitled the Acharnian, some old men of that tribe are styled "men of oak and maple, soldiers "of Marathon;" meaning invincible warriors. The inhabitants of Antioch, in allusion to this passage of the comic poet, reproach Julian for having the hardiness, the

one generally odious and disgustful. Was it not better for you to walk the forum, scented with perfumes, and preceded by beautiful boys, and thus to attract the eyes of the citizens, and bands of women, such as you see assembled every day *?

Jul. But to look wantonly, casting my eyes on all sides, and to appear beautiful to you in person, not in mind, my principles will not allow me. "The true beauty of the mind consists," you say, "in the enjoyment of life." But my governor taught me, when I attended masters, to behold the ground, not the stage, and to cherish the hairs of my chin more than those of my head. And even

unpoliteness, the roughness, of the Acharnians, without the courage of those brave Attic peasants. To these ideas, which are purely Greek, I have substituted some that are equivalent. La Bleterie.

In this translation the Greek ideas are retained. As Julian is the speaker, let him speak as a Greek or Roman, and not like a Londoner or Parisian. Though it is not uncommon with us to say, in like manner, of those who are hardy, that they are "made of iron and steel;" and thus Charles XII. was styled by the Turks, "iron-head," and by Dr. Johnson, "a frame of adamant, a soul of fire."

* Nothing could equal the festivals of Venus, and other such solemnities, when, refusing to give audience to the officers and magistrates, Julian conducted through the city the female prostitutes, and the other victims of the public incontinence. The women walked first; after them came the effeminate youths. Between these two infamous troops, who burst into loud shouts of laughter, and uttered all that debauchery could dictate, marched the reformer of Paganism, with a burlesque gravity, heightening as much as possible his puny stature, extending a pointed beard, and affecting the step of a giant. His horse followed at a distance, and his guards closed this extravagant pomp. La Bleterie.

at

at that age I never went to the theatre privately and voluntarily, but twice or thrice only,

To pleaſe Patroclus, by the prince commanded *, my intimate friend and kinſman. I was then a ſubject.

Pardon me therefore, and rather turn your reſentment againſt that wicked governor, who was then ſo troubleſome to me by inculcating thoſe moral leſſons. He has occaſioned all your diſlike to me by fixing, and, as it were, carving on my mind what I ought to ſhun. And, as if he meant to pleaſe me, he exerted himſelf with the utmoſt earneſtneſs, calling ruſticity gravity, and ſtupidity temperance, ſaying, that to reſiſt the paſſions was fortitude, and that the gratification of them does not conſtitute happineſs. My governor often ſaid to me, when I was quite a boy, as Jove and the Muſes can witneſs, "Do not ſuffer yourſelf to be "ſeduced to the theatre by the crowd of your "companions, nor be enamoured of ſuch enter-"tainments. Do you wiſh to ſee a chariot-race? "It is elegantly deſcribed in Homer †: open the "book, and read. Do you hear of pantomime

* Παίροκλω επιηρα φερων, αρχων επ̃ίατλεν.

This, though not printed as ſuch in the editions, or obſerved by the commentators, is an heroic verſe; but it does not occur in Homer, nor is it clear whom Julian here means by "Patroclus." The prince (αρχων) muſt probably be his brother, Cæſar Gallus.

† In the XXIIId book of the Iliad, Achilles cauſes ſome games to be celebrated in honour of the funeral of Patroclus. Among them is a deſcription of a chariot-race.

LA BLETERIE.

" dancers? Away with them! The Phæäcian
" youths are less effeminate *. You have there
" the harper Phemius †, and the singer Demo-
" docus ‡. His trees too are more delightful to
" the ear than ours are to the eye.

" Thus seems the palm §, with stately honours
" crown'd,
" By Phœbus' altar ‖; thus o'erlooks the ground,
" The pride of Delos."

* See the dances of the Phæäcians in the VIIIth book of the Odyssey. LA BLETERIE.

† Phemius was a musician of the island of Ithaca, whom the suitors of Penelope forced to play on the harp during their banquets. *Ibid.*

‡ The Greeks must certainly have been very fond of their Homer, as a governor so grave as that of Julian advises a child to read the scandalous romance of Mars taken in the nets of Vulcan, which Demodocus sings at the feast of Alcinous. See Odyss. VIII. *Ibid.*

Another grave and intelligent tutor, himself a proficient in music, (who has lately given excellent " Advice to his " pupils,") was also inattentive to these *sacta Deorum*, as Virgil modestly styles them, when he said, " The wise men " of Heathen antiquity reserved the powers of music for " the instilling moral instruction into youth." *Jones's Physiological Disquisitions*, p. 354.

§ Odyss. VI. 162. Broome, 193. Nausicaa is compared to this palm-tree by Ulysses.

Because the Ulysses of Homer said, that he " saw a tall and tender palm-tree at Delos," the same is still shewn at this day. *Cicero de Legibus*, I, 1.

The palm also of Delos is visible from the time of that God [Apollo.] *Plin. Nat. Hist. l.* XVI. 44.

‖ In the original it is παρα βωμω. Casaubon, in his notes on Athenæus, XVI. 9. quotes it περι βωμω. But Julian, in the passage above, reads it, or quotes it by memory, παρα βωμον. CLARKE.

" And

" And the woody island of Calypso, and the " groves of Circe, and the garden of Alcinöus, " be assured you will see nothing more enchant- " ing."

Would you know the name of this governor, and his family? By all the Gods and Goddesses, he was a Barbarian, a Scythian, and name-sake to him *, who persuaded Xerxes to wage war against Greece and the renowned Argives. He was an eunuch, a title, which twenty months ago † was revered, but is now the subject of shame and reproach. He was educated by my grandfather ‡, that

* It is well known that it was Mardonius, the son of Gobryas, who, in the council of Xerxes, gave his opinion for making war with the Greeks, and whose advice prevailed. Herod. VII. The governor of Julian had the same name. LA BLETERIE.

† He principally means Eusebius, the chamberlain of Constantius, [see the Epistle to the Athenians, p. 68] who, in his reign, had the management of public affairs. Ammianus, (xxi. 15.) relates, that " Constantius died Oct. 5. " in the consulship of Taurus and Florentius," which was A. D. 361. He also says, in the next book, that " Julian " composed his Misopogon towards the end of the year 362, " and that he marched from Antioch against the Persians, " March 1, 363." So that from the death of Constantius to the time of his writing the Misopogon there was an interval of not quite fifteen months. But Julian reckons twenty. Whether it is a mistake, or not, I cannot tell. PETAU.

Julian probably fixes the epocha of the disgrace of the eunuchs to the time of his declaring war against Constantius. LA BLETERIE.

‡ The præfect Julian (probably Anicius Julianus, who was consul in 322) the most illustrious private person of his age

that he might instruct my mother * in the poems of Homer and Hesiod. I was her first and only son †, and a few months after my birth she died, leaving me an orphan, and oppressed with many misfortunes. Young and tender, at seven years of age I was entrusted to his care. From that time, conducting me to proper masters, he persuaded me that this was the only right way; and as he himself would not know, nor would suffer me to pursue, any other, he has exposed me to your resentment.

But, if you please, we will now make peace, and terminate our animosity. For he had no idea of my coming hither, far from expecting that I

by his birth, his riches, and his reputation; and perhaps the first Roman senator who made a public profession of Christianity. He had been engaged in the party of Maxentius; but Constantine, after the victory, revered the superior talents of this great man, and a virtue still superior to them. He made him consul, præfect, and at length his brother-in-law. LA BLETERIE.

* Basilina. It is said, that, when she was ready to lie in, she dreamed that she brought Achilles into the world; and that, upon her waking, while she related this dream, she was delivered of Julian, almost without pain. This princess died in the flower of her age. She appears to have been an Arian and a persecutress, which is not surprising, if she was related to Eusebius of Nicomedia. "It is certain that Julian was a distant relation of this bishop," says Ammianus: probably by the side of Basilina, whose mother, the maternal grandmother of Julian, might be of Ionia or Bithynia. *Ibid.*

† Gallus (as above-mentioned) was by another mother.

should

ſhould govern ſuch an empire * as the Gods have beſtowed, much againſt the will, believe me, both of the giver and receiver. For he who conferred † this honour, or favour, or whatever elſe you may pleaſe to call it, conferred it with reluctance, and by him who accepted it, the Gods well know, it was ſincerely rejected. But their will is and muſt be obeyed. If my governor could have foreſeen this, he would, without doubt, have endeavoured to make me acceptable to you. But now, whatever manners I may have previouſly contracted, whether gentle or booriſh, it is impoſſible for me to alter or unlearn. Habit is ſaid to be a ſecond nature; to oppoſe it is irkſome; but to counteract the ſtudy of more than thirty years is extremely difficult, eſpecially when it has been imbibed with ſo much attention.

ANT. Allowing this, what induced you to inveſtigate and determine matters of traffick? This, I imagine, was not taught you by your governor, as he did not foreſee your reigning.

JUL. This alſo was owing to that wicked old man, whom, as the principal director of my ſtudies, you ſo juſtly reproach as well as me; but know, that he was deceived by others. You have often

* Conſtantius, by the courſe of nature, might have had children, and Gallus was the elder brother of Julian, who was intended for the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. LA BLETERIE.

† It is pretended that Conſtantius, on his death-bed, named Julian his ſucceſſor. Julian believes, or affects to believe, it. *Ibid.*

heard,

heard, I suppose, the names of Plato, Socrates, Aristotle, and Theophrastus *, mentioned with derision. On these that old man had the folly to rely, and afterwards finding me young and capable of improvement, he told me, that, if in every thing I would make them my models, I should excell, he would not say all other men (for with them there was no competition), but myself. Thus guided by him, how could I act otherwise? Were it ever so desirable, I can now make no alteration, and when I reproach myself for not indulging every vice, I recollect what the Athenian stranger says in Plato †: "He is to be honoured who commits "no crime; he who prevents others from being "criminal is worthy of more than double honour: "the former is equal in dignity to a man; the "latter, who discovers to the magistrates the crimes "of others, is equal to many. But he, who, in "punishing, associates himself in authority with "the magistrates, is a great and perfect citizen, "and shall be deemed victor in the lists of virtue: "the same praise is due to temperance and pru-"dence, and to all those other good qualities "which are not only useful to the possessors, but "are also imparted to others."

* A Peripatetic philosopher, who succeeded Aristotle in his school. *Cic. in Orat.* xix. His books of plants and moral characters are all that remain of his composition; the rest of his works are enumerated by Diogenes Laërtius in his life. His name was changed by Aristotle, for his eloquence, from Tyrtamus.

† *De Legibus*, l. v.

Such were the inſtructions that I received from one who thought that he was forming a private individual, not foreſeeing the rank in which Jupiter has placed me. I ſhould be aſhamed of appearing worſe as a prince than as a ſubject. I have indeed ſo far forgotten myſelf as to acquaint you with my ruſticity. Another law of Plato, which has made me recollect myſelf, and be your enemy, ſays, that "the magiſtrates and elders ſhould practiſe modeſty and temperance, that their lives "may be leſſons to the people." Singly, therefore, or rather with a few, I obſerve theſe rules; but the event has been different from what I expected, and has juſtly involved me in diſgrace. Seven of us foreigners *, who have lately arrived among you, (but one, who has ſince joined us, is your own fellow-citizen †, dear to Mercury and to me, an excellent maſter of oratory,) have no connection with the reſt of the world; we go out but ſeldom, and that only to the temples of the Gods. To the theatres we never reſort, thinking them of all places the moſt ignoble, of all purſuits the moſt inglorious. If the Grecian

* In the number of the ſix friends, whom the Emperor had with him, muſt certainly be placed the philoſophers Maximus of Epheſus, Priſcus of Epirus, the ſophiſt Himerius of Bithynia, and the phyſician Oribaſius of Pergamus. It may be ſurmiſed that the two others were Salluſt the ſecond and Anatolius. But I do not think that Julian here ſpeaks of any officer of the empire. LA BLETERIE.

† It is needleſs to obſerve that Libanius is here meant. *Ibid.*

ſages

ſages will allow me to diſtinguiſh our ſociety by the moſt remarkable circumſtance that attends it, nothing ſeems ſo peculiarly our characteriſtic as an averſion to public entertainments *. Thus we ſolicit your hatred and reſentment, inſtead of cajoling and endeavouring to pleaſe you.

ANT. Suppoſe a man is guilty of injuſtice. What folly is it in you to interfere! You might not only have ingratiated yourſelf with him, but have ſhared the emoluments of his injuſtice. Yet you prefer his enmity. You ſhould have conſidered that one who is injured never complains of the magiſtrates, but only of the perſon who has injured him. But, when he has been puniſhed, inſtead of blaming his accuſer, he turns his reſentment againſt the magiſtrates. With your uſual wiſdom therefore you ſhould have refrained from compelling others to be juſt by force, and have allowed them all full liberty to act as they pleaſed, the manners of this city being remarkably free. Not attending to this, how can you think they will obey the dictates of prudence, or renounce that freedom which even the aſſes and the camels here enjoy? The drivers lead their camels through the porticoes, like ſo many brides, magnificently dreſſed †. As if the wide ſtreets and narrow lanes

* There being no ſenſe to be collected from the original, as it appears in the editions, both printed and MS. I have adopted that which M. de la Bleterie has ſubſtituted.

† A ſatirical ſtroke on the bad police of Antioch.

were not intended for their use, they freely range the porticoes, and no one interferes, lest he should be thought to abridge their liberty. Such is the freedom of this city; and yet you would have the young men here live peaceably, and think, or, at least speak, what it may give you pleasure to hear. But they are accustomed to banquet freely every day, especially on festivals.

Jul. The Romans formerly took vengeance on the Tarentines for affronting their ambassadors at a Bacchanalian debauch *. But you, much happier than the Tarentines, instead of a few days, revel the whole year †, and instead of foreign ambassadors, you

* In the year of Rome 473, the Romans sent an embassy to the city of Tarentum to demand satisfaction for an act of hostility committed against their ships. Their ambassadors had an audience in the theatre, which was the usual place of assembly in all the Greek cities. The Roman ambassadors desiring to speak in Greek were treated as Barbarians, insulted for their foreign accent and dress, and at length driven out of the assembly. A buffoon, with beastly impudence, soiled their robes, to the diversion of every one, and was unanimously applauded. "Laugh now," said Posthumus, the chief of the embassy; "you shall weep "hereafter. This habit shall be washed with streams of "blood." The Romans declared war against the inhabitants of Tarentum. They called Pyrrhus to their assistance; but Pyrrhus being forced to abandon Italy, the Tarentines surrendered at discretion. The Romans despoiled them of a considerable part of their territory, obliged them to deliver up their arms and their ships, destroyed the walls of the city, and made it tributary. La Bleterie.

† Let Julian say what he will, I do not imagine that the inhabitants of Tarentum were at all inferior to those of

you insult your own princes, and, in particular, deride their beards, and the devices of their coin*. I congratulate you, most modest citizens, some for indulging these sportive conceits, and others for applauding and admiring them. Those, it is certain, are not more delighted with uttering, than these are with hearing, such ribaldry. Such a harmonious concurrence is wonderfully pleasing to me, and happy is this one city in being actuated only by one mind.

To check and restrain the petulance and licentiousness of youth is by no means right or laudable. For to deprive men of the power of saying and doing whatever they please is an offence against liberty of the deepest die. Thoroughly convinced that you ought in all respects to be free, first, you allow your wives to be their own rulers, that they may be as licentious as possible; and, next, you devolve upon them the education of your children, lest by our laying restraints upon you, they also should at length be enslaved; or, when they advance to maturity, they should be taught to respect their elders, and then by degrees should reverence their princes; and, lastly, should thus be classed, not among men, but slaves, and by becoming temperate, just, and honest, should be corrupted and

of Antioch. It is said of the former, that they had more feasts and public festivals than there were days in a year. La Bleterie.

* The inhabitants of Antioch ridiculed the marks of idolatry that appeared on the coins of Julian. *Ibid.*

ruined.

ruined. As to the women, they seduce their children to their religion by the charms of pleasure *, which is deemed the greatest good not only by men, but brutes. In consequence of this, you are most happy when you renounce all subjection; first, to the Gods, secondly to the laws, and, lastly, to us, the guardians of the laws. And if the Gods thus connive at this licentious city, and take no vengeance on its crimes, for us to be indignant and enraged would be folly in the extreme.

Neither the *Chi* nor the *Kappa*, you say, have hurt your city. This ænigma of your wisdom it is difficult to understand. But from some interpreters, of your city, I have learned, that these letters are the initials of certain names, the one of Constantius, the other of Christ †. Allow me, on this subject, to deliver my sentiments with freedom. The only instance, in which you were injured by Constantius, was his not putting me to death when he made me Cæsar. Would to heaven, that you alone, of all the Romans, had many Constantii, or rather might experience the rapine of his favourites! As for him, he was my relation

* It is an accuser who speaks. However, it is easy to suppose, that, in the reign of a prince so eager, as Julian was, to make proselytes, fathers and mothers were extremely indulgent to their children, lest they should embrace the religion of their sovereign. It is said, that, among the modern Greeks, the children of the lowest of the people, when they are ill-treated by their parents, threaten to turn Turks, and sometimes keep their word. LA BLETERIE.

† Χριστος and Κωνσταντιος.

and

and friend; but after he converted his friendſhip to enmity, and the Gods had terminated our diſpute by gentle means *, I became a more ſincere friend to him than, before our rupture, he could have expected. Why then ſhould you think me diſpleaſed with thoſe who praiſe him? On the contrary, I am offended with thoſe who diſparage him.

But you love Chriſt, and adore him as a tutelar deity, in the room of Jupiter, Daphnæan Apollo, and Calliope, who has detected your impoſture †. . . . Did the Emeſenians ‡ ſhew their love of Chriſt by burning the ſepulchres of the Galileans? But have I ever offended the Emeſenians? On the contrary, whom have I not offended of you? Moſt, if not all, of you, the ſenate, the rich, the populace? Or, rather, all the people, being attached to impiety, are diſpleaſed with me

* There was no blood ſhed in the war. Conſtantius died of a fever, (ſee p. 104, note.) while he was marching againſt Julian. LA BLETERIE.

† Though neither the printed editions, nor the MSS. take notice here of any chaſm, the paſſage ſeems to me defective. I ſuſpect that there were ſome blaſphemies here, which the tranſcribers have retrenched. *Ibid.*

‡ The inhabitants of Antioch placed to the account of the other people of Syria, and in particular of the city of Emeſa, the ſongs and ſatires which they compoſed againſt the Emperor. But Julian was not duped by them: the other cities of Syria teſtified a zeal for Paganiſm, which would not admit a ſuſpicion that they wiſhed to diſhonour the reſtorer of their religion. The inhabitants of Emeſa had ſet fire to the churches built over the tombs of the martyrs, and had ſpared only the principal, which they converted into a temple of Bacchus. *Ibid.*

for

for adhering to the laws and ceremonies of my anceſtors; the rich, becauſe I prevent their exacting unreaſonable prices; and all on account of the dancers and players, not becauſe I aboliſh them, but becauſe I regard them no more than the frogs of the lakes *. After having excited ſo much hatred, may I not be allowed to accuſe myſelf?

The Roman Cato (what kind of beard he wore I know not †, but of this I am certain) excelled all who were moſt renowned for temperance, magnanimity, and, which is the greateſt of all, bravery. When, therefore, he viſited this populous, luxurious, and wealthy city, ſeeing in the ſuburbs the young men under arms, and the magiſtrates in their robes, he thought all this parade was exhibited by your anceſtors in compliment to him; and alighting immediately from his horſe ‡, he haſtened forward, and blamed his friends, who had entered the city before him, for appriſing the

* A proverbial hyperbole, meaning that the buſineſs is nothing to us §. And it is juſtly alſo applied to detractors, when we mean to ſay we hold their calumnies in contempt. As though frogs croak continually, and bark at the paſſers-by, repeating inceſſantly that odious ditty, Βρεκεκεκεξ κοαξ κοαξ, yet no one is offended. ERASMUS.

† Julian muſt ſurely have known that, in the time of Cato of Utica, the Romans wore no beards. It may be ſaid that he is ſorry that Cato had not one as long as his own. LA BLETERIE.

‡ Plutarch ſays, that "Cato was on foot, as was his "uſual cuſtom, and his friends, who accompanied him, on "horſeback. On this occaſion, he made them diſmount."

§ Rather that we totally diſregard it; as many do not regard what greatly concerns them; and, on the contrary, pay great attention to matters with which they have no concern. STEPHENS.

citizens of his approach, and perſuading them to go and meet him. While Cato thus heſitated, and ſeemed abaſhed, the maſter of the ceremonies coming up to him, ſaid, " Stranger, how far off " is Demetrius?" He was a freed-man of Pompey, and was poſſeſſed of much wealth. You will aſk me how much *, as I know nothing more likely to excite your curioſity. For this I muſt refer you to my author, Damophilus † of Bithynia, who collected many ſuch ſtories from various writers, which are very entertaining both to young and old who have a taſte for ſuch ſubjects. For old age ſeems to renew the curioſity of youth in the moſt incurious; to which, I imagine, it is owing, that both old and young are equally fond of ſtories. But to return. Would you know what anſwer Cato gave? Suſpect not that I traduce the city. The ſtory is not mine. If the name of a certain native of Chæronea ‡ has reached your ears, of that vile ſect, as it is called, of inſolent philoſophers, into which I have not indeed yet been admitted, though ſuch is my folly, I have

* Biſhop Warburton, in a note on ver. 390, of Pope's Epiſtle to Arbuthnot, " What fortune, pray," [had your parents] where " his friend's perſonating the town, and " aſſuming its impertinent curioſity, gives great ſpirit to " the ridicule of the queſtion," quotes this paſſage of Julian as " a parallel ſtroke."

† Damophilus lived, it is ſaid, in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. Julian gives us no high idea of this compiler, and ridicules him by the way. LA BLETERIE.

‡ Every one knows that Plutarch was of Chæronea in Bœotia. He relates this ſtory in the Life of Pompey. *Ibid.* He relates it alſo in the Life of Cato.

wiſhed

wiſhed it; he, I ſay, relates that Cato made no anſwer, but only exclaimed, like a madman, "O "miſerable city!" and departed.

Wonder not therefore at my behaving to you in the ſame manner, eſpecially as I am more ſavage, and as much bolder and prouder, than Cato as the Gauls are than the Romans. He lived almoſt all his life in his native country. But I was ſcarce arrived at manhood when I was ſent among the Gauls and Germans, and into the Hercynian foreſt *; and having ſpent much time there, fighting with ſavages, like a hunter chaſing wild beaſts, I contracted ſuch a diſpoſition as cannot fawn nor flatter, but can live on terms of ſimplicity and equality with all men. As in the days of my early youth I travelled through the works of Plato and Ariſtotle †, I had no talents for this civil life, and no taſte for pleaſure. When I became a man, and my own maſter, I lived among the moſt fierce and warlike nations, who had no connection with Venus, the Goddeſs of love, but in the way of marriage, and for the ſake of an off-ſpring; nor with Bacchus, the God of wine, but for the ſake of drinking as much as they could. In their theatres, they have no obſcenity, no inſolence, no laſcivious dances. It is ſaid, that not long ago a certain Cappadocian fled thither from hence. You know whom I mean; the ſame who

* See a Fragment on this foreſt at the end of the epiſtles.

† Η τε εν μειραξιοις οδος δια των Πλατωνος και Αριστοτελους λογων. Literally, "my way lay through the diſcourſes," &c,

was educated in your city by a goldsmith. He had imbibed, I know not where, some dissolute principles, which, I know not how, he had reduced to practice *. Being introduced to one of their kings †, remembering what he had seen here, he first entertained them with a number of dancers, and afterwards with many other curiosities of this city. At length, being in want of a cotylist ‡, (with

* In the original, μαθων οπου και εμαθεν, ως ε δει ομιλειν γυναιξι, μειρακιοις δ' επιχειρειν, εκ οιδα οποσα ενθαδε δρασας και παθων. I have substituted, with the French translator, more decent general expressions.

† Παρα τον εκεισε βασιλεα, *ad regem qui illic.* Must we understand, by this, a Barbarian king, for instance, the chief of some tribe of Franks, who, in the time of Magnentius, settled themselves in a district of Gaul? Magnentius, who derived his origin from the Franks, might have called some of them to his assistance. Besides, Constantius had sent word to the people beyond the Rhine, that they might enter into the Gauls, and that he would cede to them all the conquests that they might make there. The Barbarians seconded his views too well. Julian had much difficulty to make them repass the Rhine. Perhaps too it may be supposed (but this sense seems to me less natural) that it relates to one of the Emperors, or Cæsars, who resided in the Gauls before Julian. The name of βασιλευς was given to the Emperors and Cæsars. It is sometimes given to them even by Julian, notwithstanding his republican ideas. La Bleterie.

‡ The word *cotylistes* occurs in no other passage of Julian. We are totally ignorant of what he means. However, as κοτυλος and κοτυλη signify a kind of cup, κοτυλιστης, their derivative, may signify perhaps "a player with cups, or "a jugler." Seneca calls these goblets *præsligiatorum acetabula.* It is remarkable that κοτυλη and *acetabulum* have another meaning, which is common to them. They both signify the cavity of the *os ischion*, in which the head of the thigh is inserted. As *acetabulum* means "a cup to "play tricks," there is great probability that κοτυλη is used in

(with this you are well acquainted both in word and deed) he ſent for one alſo from hence, ſuch was his attachment to your reſpectable way of life. Though the Gauls were ſtrangers to a cotyliſt, for this was the firſt time that any one had been ſeen at court, yet, when the dancers exerted their ſkill in the theatre, they deſerted it, thinking thoſe performers fools or mad.

To me a theatre ſeems no leſs ridiculous. But there, the few were derided by the many; here, I with the few am derided by you all. This, however, does not offend me; for it would be unjuſt in me, after concurring with them, not to bear with patience this treatment from you. I was ſo beloved by the Gauls, for the ſimilitude of my manners, that they not only took up arms for me, but alſo made me many preſents; on my refuſing them, they frequently obliged me to accept them, and in every thing readily obeyed me. From thence, which was of the utmoſt importance, my name was often tranſmitted to you with glory; and all exclaimed, that I was brave, prudent, juſt, equally expert in peace as in war, mild, and courteous.

Of this the manner in which you have treated me has been quite ther everſe. Firſt you ſay, "I "have ſubverted the world *." In anſwer; I know of

in the ſame ſenſe. I am indebted for this erudition to the learned M. Falconet. LA BLETERIE.

* According to Socrates, (*l.* III. *c.* 17.) the ſaying, that "Julian had ſubverted the world," was owing to a bull and an altar appearing on his coins. F. Petau, M. Fleury,

of nothing that I have subverted, either by design or inadvertence. Next, that " my beard should " be twisted into ropes." And, lastly, that " I

and M. de Tillemont suppose, that Socrates says, the bull lay on his back. But the historian says no such thing. We know of no medal of this prince on which is seen a bull thrown down, or even a bull with an altar. We are acquainted with some on which appears a bull standing, above which are two stars. At the feet of that animal is an eagle, who holds a crown in his beak, and seems to present it to the bull; but there is no altar. Supposing that Socrates is not mistaken, he alludes to some medal that is unknown to us. A victim, ready for sacrifice, stamped on the coins of the Emperor, shewed that the empire had changed its religion; and that is what the inhabitants of Antioch might very well call the " subversion of the world." After all, Julian, by his restless and reforming genius, by the various changes which he introduced, both in the state and religion, sufficiently deserved the above reproach, without its being necessary to think that this reproach was relative to any one of his coins. LA BLETERIE.

One medal of Julian with a bull and an eagle and another with a bull and two stars, are described by Occo. Among the Imperial brass coins belonging to the library of Christ-Church, Canterbury, are three, which are supposed to be Julian's. One of them, which seems to have his head, has this inscription, DN CONSTANTI . . . . " from which" (says the expositor) " one would think this coin a Con-" stantine; but the head does not resemble either of the " Constantines, and I do not find that Julian took the " name of Constantinus, or any name like it. His titles " were Flavius Claudius Julianus. The reverse is a war-" rior on foot, directing his javelin against a horseman, " with his horse falling to the ground. FEL. TEMP. . . . " Dufresne describes this reverse on a coin of Julian, as " does also Occo, and I find no such of either of the Con-" stantines. I should think Constanti . . . might possibly be " filled up Constantinopolis, but DN, *Dominus noster*, shews " it to be the emperor's name, and not the city's."

Constanti . . . on this coin may perhaps mean Constantius, as a coin of his, described by Occo, has the reverse here mentioned.

" wage

" wage war againſt the *Chi* *, and that you regret " the *Kappa* †." I wiſh that the guardian-gods of this city would give you two ſuch *Kappas*, and thus revenge your ſlanderouſly imputing the libels againſt me to many of the neighbouring holy cities, which agree with me in worſhipping the Gods; cities, which, I am certain, have more affection for me than for their own children, as they immediately reſtored the temples of the Gods, and, at a ſignal lately given by me, deſtroyed all the tombs of the atheiſts ‡, being ſo ardent and zealous to

* Chriſt. † Conſtantius.

‡ The cruelties, which were exerciſed againſt the Chriſtians by thoſe " holy cities," may be ſeen in the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory. At Heliopolis, a city ſituated at the foot of Libanus, men were ſeen to gnaw the entrails of the ſacred virgins, to tear out the liver of a deacon named Cyril, and to eat it publickly. The inhabitants of Gaza in Paleſtine tore ſome of the Chriſtians to pieces, and committed the ſame barbarities on the remains of their bodies which in other places were practiſed on the relics of the martyrs. The like enormities happened at Arethuſa, &c. I know that Julian did not command thoſe barbarities; but he could not be ignorant of what the populace are capable. When we looſen the reins, we are reſponſible for their fury. Julian ſhould at leaſt have puniſhed theſe exceſſes, inſtead of apologiſing for them. LA BLETERIE.

This imperfect and reluctant confeſſion may appear to confirm the eccleſiaſtical narratives, that in the cities of Gaza, Aſcalon, Cæſarea, Heliopolis, &c. the Pagans abuſed, without prudence or remorſe, the moment of their proſperity; that the unhappy objects of their cruelty were releaſed from torture only by death; that, as their mangled bodies were dragged through the ſtreets, they were pierced (ſuch was the univerſal rage) by the ſpits of cooks, and the diſtaffs of enraged women; and that the entrails of Chriſtian prieſts and virgins, after they had been taſted

to punish those who had transgressed against the Gods, as even to exceed my wishes.

As to you, many of you, whom my lenity has scarce been able to pacify, have overthrown the altars lately erected. But after we had sent the dead body * back from Daphne †, some of you, who worshipped

by those bloody fanatics, were mixed with barley, and contemptuously thrown to the unclean animals of the city. Such scenes of religious madness exhibit the most contemptible and odious picture of human nature.

GIBBON.

* Of Babylas, a Christian bishop of Antioch, mentioned in a former note, p. 247.

† At the distance of five miles from Antioch the Macedonian kings of Syria had consecrated to Apollo one of the most elegant places of devotion in the Pagan world. A magnificent temple rose in honour of the God of light, and his colossal figure almost filled the capacious sanctuary, which was enriched with gold and gems, and adorned by the skill of the Grecian artists. The deity was represented in a bending attitude, with a golden cup in his hand, pouring out a libation on the earth; as if he supplicated the venerable mother to give to his arms the cold and beauteous DAPHNE; for the spot was ennobled by fiction; and the fancy of the Syrian poets had transported the amorous tale from the banks of the Peneus to those of the Orontes. . . . The temple and the village, insensibly formed by the perpetual resort of pilgrims and spectators, were deeply bosomed in a thick grove of laurels and cypresses, which reached as far as a circumference of ten miles, and formed in the most sultry summers a cool and impenetrable shade. . . . The groves of Daphne continued for many ages to enjoy the veneration of natives and strangers; the privileges of the holy ground were enlarged by the munificence of succeeding Emperors; and every generation added new ornaments to the splendor of the temple. GIBBON.

The whole of the garden at Kousham [in Oxfordshire] laid out by Kent, for General Dormer, is as elegant and antique,

worshipped the Gods, by way of expiation, gave up the temple of the Daphnæan God to others who were enraged on account of the relics of the dead. And these, by their negligence or connivance, kindled those flames, and exhibited to foreign nations a sight most horrid, but to your citizens most pleasing, and by the senate hitherto disregarded. The God indeed seems, in my opinion, to have deserted the temple long before the fire *. This, at my first entrance, the statue declared to me; and I appeal to the great Sun, as a witness of it against unbelievers.

I must now remind you of another of my offences, and then, as I have done before, I will censure and condemn myself. In the tenth month †, accord-

antique, as if the Emperor Julian had selected the most pleasing solitude about Daphne to enjoy a philosophic retirement. WALPOLE.

* Ecclesiastical critics, particularly those who love relics, exult in this confession of Julian, and that of Libanius, (*Næniæ*, p. 185.) that Apollo was disturbed by the vicinity of one dead man. Yet Ammianus (XXII. 12.) clears and purifies the whole ground, according to the rites which the Athenians formerly practised in the isle of Delos. GIBBON.

† F. Petau thinks, that we should read "the eleventh "month," and not "the tenth;" supposing that the month Hyperbereteus was the first of the Macedonian year. But Suidas and Zenobius, from a Macedonian proverb, inform us, that this month was the last; and consequently the month Dius was the first. The following is the order in which the physician Ætius, and all the ephemerists, place the Macedonian months. I will annex the Roman months to which they answer in the Syrian year, which the ecclesiastical writers have

according to your reckoning, (you call it, I think, Löus), is the ancient festival of this God, when great crowds used to assemble at Daphne. I therefore hastened thither from the temple of Jupiter Cassius *, expecting to see a profusion of wealth and

have adopted; but, as I have said before, it was not perhaps that of Antioch:

1 *Dius*,	November.	7 *Artemisius*,	May.
2 *Appellæus*,	December.	8 *Dæsius*,	June.
3 *Audinæus*,	January.	9 *Panemus*,	July.
4 *Peritius*,	February.	10 *Löus*,	August.
5 *Dystrus*,	March.	11 *Gorpiæus*,	September.
6 *Xanthicus*,	April.	12 *Hyperberetæus*,	October.

LA BLETERIE.

* Jupiter was called Casius, or Cassius, from a very high hill of that name in Syria, which bounds Antioch to the south, about fifteen miles distant. This was a day's journey; but Julian performed it several times during his residence in that city. Nothing was difficult to him when it was to visit a place revered by the Pagans. One day, while he was sacrificing there, he saw at his feet a man prostrate on the ground, who humbly intreated him to grant him his life. He asked who he was. "Theodotus," he was answered, "formerly chief of the council of "Hierapolis, who, when he conducted Constantius back, "then preparing to attack you, complimented him be-"fore-hand on his victory, and with sighs and tears "conjured him to send immediately to Hierapolis the "head of that rebellious, that ungrateful wretch; thus "he styled you." 'I have heard this long ago,' said the Emperor, 'and I have heard it from more than one.' Then addressing himself to Theodotus, who was half-dead with fear, he added, 'Return home in safety, and dismiss all 'apprehensions. You live under a prince, who, accord-'ing to the maxim of a great philosopher, studiously en-'deavours to diminish the number of his enemies, and to 'increase that of his friends.' *Ibid.*

Trajan,

and ſplendor. Already I feigned to myſelf, and ſaw there, as in a dream, the ſolemn pomp, the victims, the libations, the dances, the incenſe, and the boys, with minds properly diſpoſed to the God, arrayed in white and elegant garments. But when I entered the temple, I found there neither incenſe, nor cake, nor victim. This much ſurpriſed me, and I concluded that you were waiting without the gate, by way of reſpect, for a ſignal from me as ſovereign Pontiff *. I therefore aſked the prieſt what offering the city intended to make on that ſolemn anniverſary? He replied, "I have brought "the God a ſacred gooſe from my own houſe, "but the city has provided nothing." Odious as I am apt to render myſelf, I expoſtulated, on this occaſion, with the ſenate in ſevere terms, which it may not be unſeaſonable here to repeat: "Shameful," ſaid I, "it is, that ſo great a city "ſhould contemn the Gods more than any village in "the remoteſt parts of Pontus, and though poſſeſ- "ſed of a territory ſo extenſive, on the late annual "feſtival of your tutelar Deity, the firſt ſince the

Trajan, in his progreſs againſt the Parthians, made an offering to Jupiter Caſius; on which account his temple is repreſented on ſeveral of his coins, and thoſe of other emperors afterwards. He is ſuppoſed to be the ſame with the God Terminus among the Romans. BOWYER.

Others derive this name of Jupiter from a hill in Paleſtine near Ægypt, where that God had a temple, and Pompey a tomb. See Luc. VII. 451. and Plin. v. 12.

* Julian diſcovers his own character with that *naiveté*, that unconſcious ſimplicity, which always conſtitutes true humour. GIBBON.

" Gods diſpelled the cloud of impiety, ſhould not
" have brought him even a ſingle bird, when
" every tribe ought to have ſacrificed an ox! Or,
" if that had been too expenſive, the whole city
" might have joined to have offered him a bull.
" None of you ſcruple being profuſe of expence
" on your private entertainments, and many of
" you, I know, laviſh large ſums on the feſtival of
" the Maïuma *; but none, either as individuals or a
" community,

* I know not whether we muſt believe, on the authority of Suidas and of ſome comments, that the Maïuma was originally a Roman feſtival. Suidas ſays, that in the month of May, the magiſtrates of Rome, followed, no doubt, by all the people, went to celebrate it at Oſtia, and that, amidſt diverſions and licentiouſneſs, they puſhed one another into the ſea. But we find in no other author that this feſtivity was ever celebrated in Italy, or in any other part of the Weſt. It even ſeems to have been peculiar to the Orientals, and particularly to the Syrians. As places where there was much water were choſen for its celebration, ſuch as the ſuburb of Daphne near Antioch, and we know not that it was celebrated in the month of May, it is more probable to ſuppoſe that it was called *Maïuma*, becauſe that word in Syriac ſignifies " waters." All that is known of this feſtival is, that it laſted ſeven days, and that it " was the eſſence of it not to abſtain " from any kind of infamy." This is the expreſſion of Libanius, who, a thorough Pagan as he is, often mentions it with horror. Godefroy thinks that the infamous ſpectacle againſt which St. John Chryſoſtom inveighs with ſo much zeal muſt refer to the Maïuma. In the middle of an amphitheatre, in a reſervoir filled with water, the common women ſwam and gambolled in the ſight of the whole city. If Godefroy be not miſtaken, as we alſo know that the city of Maïuma in Paleſtine, ſituated on the ſea-ſhore, was particularly devoted to the worſhip of Venus, I ſhould ſuſpect that the feſtival of the Maïuma had originally for its object

" community, sacrifice for their private or the " public safety. The priest alone has sacrificed, " who, in my opinion, ought rather to have car- " ried home some part of your offerings. For " the Gods require the priests to honour them " only by their probity, and attention to virtue, " and their decent ministration of the sacred duties; " but the city, I think, should sacrifice both in " public and private. Instead of this, all of you " suffer your wives to squander your substance on " the Galileans, who, by feeding the indigent at

object the celebration of the birth of that Goddess, who, according to the fable, sprung from the waves. But it appears that, in the time of Julian, the Maïuma was no longer considered as part of the religious worship of the Pagans. However, it is no less strange to see the Christians of Antioch partake of this scandalous festivity. But, as M. de Tillemont says, " a great nation is often more zealous " to defend the name of Christianity than to practise its " morality." " A wise prince," says Libanius, (he is supposed to mean Constantius) " had suppressed the festival " of the Maïuma." But it was tolerated in the reigns of Julian and Valens, and till the last years of Theodosius I. who forbade it some time before his death. Arcadius, in 396, allowed it to be celebrated on condition that nothing should be done there contrary to decency. *Clementiæ nostræ placuit, ut* Maïumæ, *provincialibus lætitia redderetur; ita tamen ut servetur honestas, et verecundia castis moribus perseveret.* But as it was impossible to exact this, the same emperor forbade it three years after. *Ludicras artes concedimus agitari, ne ex nimiâ harum restrictione tristitia generetur. Illud verò quod sibi nomen procax licentia vindicavit,* Maïumam fœdum atque indecorum spectaculum, *denegamus.* xv. *Cod. Theod. tit.* vi. *de Maiumâ.* Some remains of this festival were found nevertheless at Constantinople in the 12th century, in the reign of Leon the son of Constantine Copronymus. LA BLETERIE.

" your

" your expence, exhibit a wonderful proof of " impiety to their poor, who ſeem to abound " every where. But you, though you contemn " the worſhip of the Gods, think yourſelves blame- " leſs. No one ſupplies the altar with neceſſaries, " not being able, I ſuppoſe, to defray the expence. " Yet when any one of you celebrates his birth- " day, he provides a ſuitable entertainment, and " magnificently treats his friends. While on a " ſolemn feſtival no one brings the God a libation, " nor a victim, nor even oil for his lamp, nor " incenſe. In what manner this may appear to " any good man among you, I know not; but " that it cannot pleaſe the God, I am certain."

Such, I remember, were my expoſtulations, and theſe the God, by his teſtimony, approved; which I wiſh he had not, but, inſtead of deſerting the ſuburb in which he had ſo long reſided, had in the late tempeſt turned the hearts, and opened the hands, of the magiſtrates *. But I was ſo abſurd as

* In the original, τῶν κραίοντων. Who theſe κραίοντες are is not ſufficiently clear to me; unleſs he means the guardian genii of the place [Daphne] whoſe attention and power were baffled by a divine interpoſition, which, in order to avenge the people of Antioch, occaſioned that conflagration. PETAU.

The following is the manner in which the whole paſſage ought, I think, to be tranſlated, by repeating a negation that occurs a little before. " In that horrible event, " Apollo would not have diverted the attention of the tutelar " genii of the place; he would have ſtopped the hands of " the

as to be angry with you, when I ought rather to have been silent, like many who entered the temple with me, and to have made no inquisitive enquiries nor reproaches. But such was my precipitation, and so ridiculous my flattery, (for it cannot be supposed that the speech which I addressed to you was dictated by friendship, but by a vain-glorious affectation of reverence to the Gods, and of a sincere regard for you, which of

" the incendiaries." For my part, I am convinced that κεκαυκότες signifies here " the people in power, the magistrates," and if I thought, that, by " the storm," we should understand " the burning of the temple of Apollo," I would translate it " he would not have diverted the attention of " the magistrates." But I think it more natural to understand by this " storm," or " agitation," ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ζάλῃ, the commotions and disorders that happened at Antioch on account of the scarcity which Julian mentions in the sequel. The avarice of the magistrates, and the most powerful persons of the city, was the cause of that scarcity. Thus Julian would say, that Apollo, if he had still been in his temple, would have prevented or stopped the disorders, by touching the hearts of those rich misers, by forcing them to open their hands to distribute the corn which they locked up in their granaries. This is the explanation which I have adopted. I will not venture, however, to affirm that it is the true one. LA BLETERIE.

I adopt the same explanation, though I choose to translate the words literally. M. de la Bleterie renders them, " In the commotions by which it has lately been agitated, " he would have forced the magistrates to open their " granaries, he would have inspired them with sentiments " more humane." Τρέψας ἀλλάξου τὴν διάνοιαν seems very analogous to our scripture expression, ος αποκαλύψει καρδίαν, κ. τ. λ. *he shall turn the heart*, &c. Mal. v. 6.

all

all flatteries is the moſt ridiculous,) that I raſhly inveighed againſt you.

Juſtly therefore you now repay me for thoſe invectives, though not in the ſame place. For I reproached you before the God, at the altar, at the feet of the ſtatue, and in the preſence of few; but you are thus ſarcaſtic on me in the public markets, before all the people, and by the mouths of ſome of your worthy fellow-citizens. For, be aſſured, all who ſpeak have a communication with their hearers; but he who eagerly liſtens to calumnies enjoys equal pleaſure, with more ſafety, and is no leſs culpable than he who utters them.

Thus the whole city hears your lampoons on this unfortunate beard, and on its wearer, who has never ſhewn, nor will ever ſhew you, what you call a good example. For he will not lead ſuch a life as you lead yourſelves, and as you expect your princes ſhould lead. As to the aſperſions which you have both privately and publickly thrown upon me in ſcurrilous anapæſtic verſes, I alſo condemn myſelf, and very readily allow you ſtill farther liberty. I will never expoſe you, on that account, to the danger of death, ſtripes, bonds, impriſonment, or to any other puniſhment. What purpoſe would that anſwer? But as the temperate life which I here lead with my friends ſeems to you deſpicable and loathſome, and exhibits a ſight by no means agreeable, I have determined to remove

move and quit your city *, not from a perſuaſion that my perſon and manners will be more acceptable where I am going, but becauſe I think it expedient, ſhould I fail of being thought good and virtuous, to give others ſome ſhare of my diſagreeableneſs, and no longer to diſguſt this happy city with the ſtench, as it were, of my moderation, and of the temperance of my friends. For none of us have purchaſed ſo much as a field or a garden here, or have married, or given in marriage, or have been enchanted with any of your amuſements; nor have we coveted the Aſſyrian wealth, nor been laviſh of our patronages †; nor have we ſuffered any of the magiſtrates to ſhare with us the dominion over you; nor have we allured the people by the ruinous feſtivity of banquets or plays. On the contrary, we have made them ſo voluptuous, that, free from any apprehenſions of indigence, they have compoſed anapæſts on thoſe to whom they are indebted for ſo much affluence. No gold have we exacted, no ſilver have we demanded, nor have we

* Julian had reſolved to return after the Perſian campaign, and to paſs the winter at Tarſus in Cilicia. LA BLETERIE.

This not being permitted, he ordered his corpſe to be interred there, in the ſuburbs.

† Οὐδ' ἐνεμάμεθα τας προστασιας. In the Latin, *Neque præfecturas depaſti ſumus.* Rather, *Neque patrocinia diſtribuimus.* For he means the guardianſhip and protection of certain orders, and bodies, or the negociation of buſineſs with the Emperor, the ſoliciting which was very lucrative to the great. PETAU.

increaſed the taxes; but, beſides the arrears now due, we have remitted to all a fifth of what they uſed to pay.

Not contented with being regular myſelf, I have alſo, (by Jupiter and all the Gods, I am firmly perſuaded) a moſt temperate uſher *; who has been much cenſured, however, by you, becauſe though old, and rather bald on the fore part of his head, yet ſuch is his perverſeneſs, that he is not aſhamed to wear his hair on the back part, like the Abantes † of Homer. Two or three more, in no reſpect his inferiors, I may ſay four, I have alſo at my houſe; and if you deſire even a fifth, ſuch was my maternal uncle and nameſake ‡, who governed

* I know not whom Julian here means. La Bleterie.

Εισαγγελευς. One who introduces perſons to a king or prince. Robertson.

/ This anſwers to the Engliſh word and place of gentleman-uſher, or maſter of the ceremonies.

† Among the Greeks who went to the ſiege of Troy, Homer reckons the Abantes, to whom he gives the epithet of οπιθεν κομοωντες, *retrò comati*, becauſe they threw their hair back. La Bleterie.

Down their broad ſhoulders flows a length of hair. Pope.

‡ Julian, Count of the Eaſt, brother to Baſilina. After the profanation and deſtruction of Daphne, (ſee p. 248.) being ordered by the Emperor to ſhut up the cathedral of Antioch, then poſſeſſed by the Arians, his zeal induced him to exceed his commiſſion by ſhutting up all the other churches, and even by beheading a preſbyter, named Theodoret. For this raſh act being reprimanded by his nephew, he was ſeized, a few days after, with an inveterate ulcer, of which he languiſhed two months, and then died. "His "ſeaſonable death," ſays Mr. Gibbon, "is related with "much

verned you with the ſtricteſt juſtice, as long as the Gods allowed him to continue and co-operate with us, though he did not manage the affairs of the city with the utmoſt prudence. For thoſe governors who rule with mildneſs and moderation ſeem to me highly laudable, and this, I hoped, would have atoned for my want of beauty. But ſince the length of my beard, the negligence of my hair, my diſlike to the theatres, my gravity in the temples, and, above all, my adherence to equity in the courts of juſtice, and my earneſt endeavours to baniſh extortion have given you ſuch offence, I ſhall with pleaſure leave your city. If I were to attempt to alter my conduct, I ſhould probably exemplify the old fable of the kite. For the kite, it is ſaid, having originally a voice like other birds, was deſirous to neigh like a high-bred horſe; but not being able to attain the one, and loſing the other, he was afterwards deprived of both, and in voice became inferior to them all. In like manner, I am very apprehenſive of being neither ruſtic nor polite. For, as you yourſelves perceive, I am now, by the will of the Gods, on the verge of that age, when, according to the Teian poet,

Grey hairs will mingle with the black *.

But

" much ſuperſtitious complacency by the Abbè de la Ble-
" terie." To the above-mentioned indiſcretion of his uncle the Emperor probably here alludes. See Epiſtle XIII. which is addreſſed to this Count Julian.

* Ευϊε μοι λευκαι μελαιναις αναμεμιξονται τριχες.

The poems of Anacreon, now preſerved, are ſaid to have been firſt diſcovered by Henry Stephens; but where or how

But tell me now, I conjure you, by the immortal Gods, and by Jupiter, the guardian of your city, what has occasioned this ingratitude? Has any private or public offence of mine so provoked you, that, not being able openly to revenge it, you lampoon me in the forum, in anapæstic verses, as the comic poets treat and represent Hercules and Bacchus *? Is it because, though I have abstained from injuring you by my deeds, I have offended you by words, that you take your revenge in the same manner? Can this have occasioned your enmity and resentment? But certain I am, that nothing injurious, nothing offensive, has been done, nor any thing reproachful said, by me, either

is scarce known. His first edition of them, which was published at Paris in 1544, was deemed a happy discovery by some of the learned, and suspected by others. Stephens, falling into a kind of distraction in the latter part of his life, suffered his two MSS. which he had carefully collated, to perish, without communicating them even to Casaubon, his son-in-law. This we learn from M. de la Monnoie in Bayle's article Anacreon. And M. de Pauw, who published an edition of that poet at Utrecht in 1732, in 4to, is fully persuaded that the odes were composed by different authors; and, besides, doubts whether Anacreon was really the author of any single ode in the whole collection. Julian has quoted from him one passage (as above), and refers to another in his XVIIIth Epistle. But neither of them are to be found in Stephens's edition.

* We need only open Aristophanes, and cast an eye, in particular, on his comedies of The Frogs and The Birds, to be convinced of the licentiousness with which the Greek poets treated the Gods. The most abused, and those whom they represented in the most ridiculous characters, were Bacchus and Hercules. LA BLETERIE.

privately

privately againſt individuals, or publicly againſt the community. I have even beſtowed commendations, whenever I thought them due; and I have, in ſome reſpects, been ſerviceable to you, as became one who was deſirous of being, to the utmoſt of his power, a general benefactor. It was impoſſible, you may be aſſured, that all the taxes ſhould be remitted to thoſe who pay them, and that by thoſe who uſed to receive them all ſhould be returned. As therefore it appears that I have not diminiſhed the public largeſſes, which uſed to be defrayed at the Imperial expence, though I have remitted you ſeveral taxes, does not this ſeem myſterious? But it is more proper for me to be ſilent as to what I have done for all the citizens in general, that I may not ſeem ſtudiouſly to publiſh my own panegyric, after declaring that I would compoſe a bitter ſatire on myſelf. The inſtances of my raſhneſs and imprudence towards you, though they ought not to have incurred your diſpleaſure, it is, I think, incumbent on me to mention, as they are really diſgraceful to me, and being more true, and relating wholly to my mind, are much more important than my perſonal defects, I mean the roughneſs of my viſage, and my unpoliteneſs *.

* Και της αναφροδισιας. *Veneris odium* in the Latin tranſlation, not properly. Το αναφροδιτον is oppoſed to ευαφροδιτον. But this means "agreeable and elegant." That therefore is "diſagreeable and inelegant;" and αναφροδισια "ruſticity, "unpoliteneſs." PETAU.

And, first, I highly extolled you, before I was acquainted with you, or was apprised on what terms we should be, on this consideration only, that you were descended from the Greeks, as I, though by birth a Thracian, am in manners and disposition a Greek. I presumed, therefore, that we should have a mutual regard for each other. In this one instance I judged rashly. Afterwards, though you were the last who sent ambassadors to me, not excepting the Alexandrians, who are so remote as Ægypt, yet I remitted you much gold and silver, and many taxes, in particular, more than to any other city. I also augmented the number of your senators * to two hundred, and I exempted none †, my

* Zosimus, *l.* III. "The Emperor, indulging the city, as "was just, and granting it a large number of senators who "were descended from parents of that rank, who were born "of the daughters of senators, (which, we know, was al-"lowed to few cities.)" But this was not so agreeable and honourable to those who were enrolled as to the city itself. For it was rather burthensome to be returned to the senate, and generally declined on account of the weight of assessments. Therefore, soon after, he says, he enrolled those two hundred in the senate, "sparing no one," φειδαμενος ουδενος. For the more powerful and opulent thought it, as has been observed, a burthen; and therefore they were to be compelled. *Ibid.*

† Every city had a senate, which was called in Latin *Curia*, the name of *Senatus* being usually appropriated to the senates of Rome and Constantinople. Two annual magistrates, named *Duumviri*, were at the head of that assembly, whose members bore the name of *Curiales* or *Decuriones*. The decurions, among other burthensome functions, were charged with collecting the taxes in the district of

my view being to increaſe and aggrandiſe your city. I allowed you therefore to chooſe them from among the richeſt of my treaſurers *, and the officers of the mint. You did not, however, make choice of thoſe who were beſt qualified, but, when an opportunity offered, your conduct was that of an ill-governed city, and not unlike yourſelves. Shall I remind you of one inſtance? Having nominated a certain ſenator, before he was enrolled on the liſt, and while the proceſs of his election was yet depending, you dragged him from the ſtreets into the ſenate, indigent as he was, and thus admitted into your ſociety one of the loweſt of the people, of thoſe who are every where elſe diſregarded, but whom you choſe to purchaſe at any price †. Such is

of their city, and with making good the payments. Individuals therefore avoided thoſe places as much as they could. But it was equally the intereſt of the empire, and of the cities, to have the curiæ numerous and filled with reſponſible perſons. *Curiales ſervos eſſe reipublicæ, ac viſcera civitatum, nullus ignorat, quorum cœtum rectè appellavit antiquitas minorem Senatum*, ſays the Emperor Majorian. *Novell. Theod. l.* IV. *tit.* I. Julian therefore gave a proof of his zeal for the public good, and of his affection for the city of Antioch, by allowing it to augment the number of its ſenators, and to chooſe them from among the officers of the Emperor, who pretended that they were exempted. LA BLETERIE.

* Απο των επιτροπευσαντων τας θησαυρας. He means the Præfects and Counts of the treaſuries, of whom the Notitia treats; who were under the direction of the Counts of the ſacred largeſſes. Thus οι εργασαμενοι το νομισμα are the officers of the mint. PETAU.

† Martinius and Spanheim conſider this as two inſtances of popular licentiouſneſs; the one, that of a man, who

is your discernment. Many of your elections have been equally irregular, but, as I cannot connive at them all, the remembrance of my past favours is lost; and for the refusal of what justice would not allow me to grant, you are incensed against me. But these were of little importance, and by no means sufficient to irritate the whole city. What follows was my chief offence, and gave the greatest provocation *.

When I first came hither, the people, oppressed by the rich, began with exclaiming in the theatre, "There is plenty of all things, yet all things are "extravagantly dear." Next day I discoursed with your magistrates, and endeavoured to convince them of the propriety of spurning unjust

was enrolled into the senate, while he had a suit depending, whose issue ought to have been expected; the other, that of a poor man, taken from the dregs of the people. Their mistake seems to arise from the words μετεωρα της δικης ουσης, which they apply to a law-suit, and Αλλου, which, as usually printed, begins the next sentence. But the former words may as well refer to the process of the senatorial election yet undetermined, and accordingly M. de la Bleterie translates them, *lorsque le procès, dont sa nomination fut suivie, étoit encore pendant*. And for Αλλου ("Another "man") I would substitute αλλα or αλλ' ("but"), and close the former paragraph with a comma only, or semicolon. That Julian meant to produce no more than a single instance appears from his introductory words, Βουλεσθε τινος υμας υπομνησω; "Will you allow me to remind you of *one* of them?"

* Julian proceeds to make his apology on account of the kind of famine which Antioch suffered, while he resided there. Let him say what he will, the conduct, which he then pursued, does less honour to his prudence than to his disinterestedness and good intentions. LA BLETERIE.

gain,

gain, and of obliging their fellow-citizens and foreigners. They promised to attend to what I said; but after waiting with confidence for three months, such was their negligence that I despaired of any good effect. Finding therefore that the popular clamour was just and reasonable, and that the markets were straitened not by dearth, but by the avarice of the rich, I fixed a moderate price on every commodity, of which I ordered public notice to be given. And as there was great plenty of wine, oil, and all other provisions, except wheat, whose scarcity was owing to the drought of the preceding year, I determined to supply that deficiency from Chalcis, Hierapolis, and other neighbouring cities. From them I imported for your use four hundred thousand measures; and when they were consumed, I brought from my own house, and gave to the city, first, five thousand, then seven thousand, and now, lastly, ten thousand *modii*, as you style them, all which wheat was sent me from Ægypt, for my own consumption, and fifteen measures I ordered to be sold at the same price that used formerly to be given for ten *. If ten measures

* With a salutary view, the Emperor ventured on a very dangerous and doubtful step, of fixing, by legal authority, the value of corn.... The consequences might have been foreseen, and were soon felt. The Imperial wheat was purcased by the rich merchants; the proprietors of land, or of corn, with-held from the city the accustomed supply; and the small quantities that appeared in the market were secretly sold at an advanced and illegal price.

measures cost you an *aureus* * in summer, what could be expected, when, as the Bœotian poet says,

—— cruel famine rages in the house †?

Would you not have accepted five measures ‡, or less, in such a severe winter as followed? Why then did your rich merchants clandestinely sell their standing corn for more, and thus take advantage of the public distress? Notwithstanding this, besides the citizens §, numbers also from the country

price. Julian still continued to applaud his own policy, treated the complaints of the people as a vain and ungrateful murmur, and convinced Antioch, that he had inherited the obstinacy, though not the cruelty, of his brother Gallus. The ignorance of the most enlightened princes may claim some excuse; but we cannot be satisfied with Julian's own defence [as above], or the elaborate apology of Libanius, *Orat. Parent. c.* XCVII. *p.* 321. GIBBON.

* From Mr. Greaves's elements, in his excellent discourse on the *denarius*, we may fix the currency of the *aureus* at somewhat more than eleven shillings. *Ibid.*

† Καλεπον γιγνεσθαι τον λιμον επι δωμασι.

"If I have searched well," (as M. de la Bleterie says of another passage), these words are not to be found in any of the works of Pindar that have been transmitted to us.

‡ Julian states three different proportions of five, ten, or fifteen *modii* of wheat, for one piece of gold, according to the degrees of plenty and scarcity. From this fact, and from some collateral examples, I conclude, that, under the successors of Constantine, the moderate price of wheat was about thirty-two shillings the English quarter, which is equal to the average price of the sixty-four first years of the present century. GIBBON.

§ Και εχ η πολις μονον. Something, I think, is wanting here. For the sentence seems abrupt, and rather incomplete. Understand it thus. Julian made the price of corn only, and the making of bread, cheap; that is, he sold fifteen *modii* of corn for one *solidus*. But the Antiochians, besides

country came hither in crowds to purchase bread, the only commodity that is plentiful and cheap. But which of you remembers, even in the most favourable seasons, fifteen measures of corn sold so cheap as for one *aureus?* I was therefore hated by you because I would not suffer wine, vegetables, and fruit to be sold at an exorbitant price, nor corn, which the rich had hoarded in their granaries, to be immediately converted by them into gold and silver. They infamously sold it to foreigners, and, in consequence, exposed you to famine,

—— that cruel scourge of mortals, *

as it is styled by a God, who severely reprobates such transgressors. Thus, by my attention, the

besides corn, wished to have plenty also of wine, vegetables, and fruit. Compare this with another passage (p. 258.) where he mentions their complaints against him for occasioning a plenty of bread only, and not also of wine, fish, and poultry. But here, he says, he was reproached for not suffering garden-stuff and fruit αποδιδοσθαι χρυσου, "to "be sold for gold." Where χρυσος, that is "gold," not χρυσους, "a piece of gold so called," I suppose to be meant. For when the common people had hitherto purchased from the rich, at an extravagant price, not only corn but wine, and other articles less necessary to subsistence than corn, Julian, by supplying the people with plenty of corn alone, in this particular alleviated their wants. But when by his edict he had lowered the prices of meat, wine, and other things, they were no longer publickly sold by the rich; which not being regarded by the Emperor occasioned the popular complaints. PETAU.

* Λιμον αλεωπεφα βεελεων. This is the conclusion of an heroic verse, though not so distinguished in the editions. I suppose it to be taken from one of the Didymæan oracles (so called) from which Julian has given another quotation in his Duties of a Priest, p. 130, and in his LXIIId Epistle.

city

city abounded in bread, but in nothing else. Such conduct, I was well aware, would not be generally pleasing; but this gave me no concern, as I thought it my duty to relieve an oppressed people, and also the foreigners who accompanied me hither, and the officers who attended me. But since they are now departed, and the whole city has combined against me, being hated by some, and from others, whom I have supported, having no return but ingratitude, relying on divine Nemesis, I will remove to another nation, another city, without reminding you of your acts of justice on yourselves nine years ago *, when the populace, with furious clamours, set fire to the houses of the magistrates, and massacred the governor; and, in return, were punished by a resentment just in the motive, but rigorous in the execution †.

* In 354, when Gallus set out for Hierapolis, the people of Antioch begged him to order an importation of corn. Gallus contented himself with replying, that "he left them "Theophilus, governor of Syria, who very well knew "how to procure it for them." The people, remembering these words, made Theophilus responsible for the dearth. On account of a quarrel that happened at the games of the Circus, they attacked and murdered the governor, and diverted themselves with dragging his body through the streets. Eubulus, one of the principal persons of the city, and his son, narrowly escaped the same treatment. But the people set fire to their house. Constantius sent Strategius to punish the rioters. Julian hints that it was at the desire of the magistrates. La Bleterie.

† Libanius, however, in his oration on this sedition, much applauds the clemency of Constantius.

In

In short, what part of my conduct has given you so much offence? Is it my supporting you, from my own house, at an expence which no other city has seen equalled? Is it my augmenting the number of your senators? Is it my pardoning the frauds which I have detected? Lest this should be deemed a rhetorical fiction, let me specify one or two. Three thousand lots of land, you said, were vacant *, and desired the grant of them; but when they were granted, the rich alone divided them. This, on enquiry, being clearly proved, I took them from those unjust possessors, and making no scrutiny into the former exemption of those who had no right to it, applied them to the principal expences of the city. Thus those of you who annually breed horses have about three thousand exempt portions, owing partly to the prudence and good management of my uncle and namesake †, and partly to my generosity, who, for thus punishing thieves and cheats, am justly thought by you to have subverted the world ‡.

* He here charges the Antiochians with another instance of ingratitude. For when three thousand κλῆροι, or lots, of land, were vacant, having fallen in by the deaths of the heirs, Julian, at their request, gave them to the citizens. But as the few rich divided them among themselves, he soon after resumed them, and restored them to the public towards the expence of their games and entertainments, especially those of the Circus; which, he says, was the act of his uncle Julian. PETAU.

† Count Julian, of whom above, p. 290.

‡ See p. 277.

For, believe me, lenity to such offenders encourages and hardens the wicked *.

This is the whole of my meaning, and with this I shall close my discourse. My misfortunes originate from myself alone. They are owing to the ingratitude of those whom I have obliged, and are therefore the effect, not of your liberty, but of my folly. This will teach me to act with more discretion for the future, and for the kindness which you have publicly shewn me, may you be properly requited by the Gods †!

* Julian, it is observable, is silent as to his sending the whole body of the senators of Antioch, consisting of two hundred of the most noble and wealthy citizens, under a guard, from the palace to the prison, for their disrespectful and interested boldness. But he suffered them to return to their respective houses before the close of the evening. "Their short and easy confinement," says Mr. Gibbon, "is gently touched by Libanius, (*Orat. Parent.* c. XCVIII. "pp. 332, 333.")

† Though Julian affected to laugh, he could not forgive. His contempt was expressed, and his revenge might be gratified, by the nomination of a governor [Alexander, of Heliopolis] worthy only of such subjects; and the Emperor, for ever renouncing the ungrateful city, proclaimed his resolution to pass the ensuing winter at Tarsus in Cilicia. Libanius, in a professed oration, invites him to return to his loyal and penitent city at Antioch. GIBBON.

Soon after writing this satire, viz. March 5, 363, Julian began his march towards Persia, of which he has given the particulars, as far as Hierapolis, in his XXVIIth Epistle (the latest extant), to Libanius, "one citizen of Antioch," as the above cited historian expresses it, "whose genius and "virtues might atone, in the opinion of Julian, for the "vice and folly of his country."

XVI Epistles

XVI Epiſtles of LIBANIUS* to JULIAN.

EPISTLE I.†

MAY the preſent health and ſtrength, that, you ſay, you poſſeſs, be your conſtant portion! For your grief may God ſupply a remedy! Or rather your grief requires in part only the aſſiſtance A. D. 358.

* The ſophiſt Libanius was born in the capital of the East [Antioch]. He publickly profeſſed the arts of rhetoric and declamation at Nice, Nicomedia, Conſtantinople, Athens, and, during the remainder of his life, at Antioch. The preceptors of Julian had extorted a raſh but ſolemn aſſurance, that he would never attend the lectures of their adverſary: the curioſity of the royal youth was checked and inflamed; he ſecretly procured the writings of this dangerous ſophiſt, and gradually ſurpaſſed, in the perfect imitation of his ſtyle, the moſt laborious of his domeſtic pupils. When Julian aſcended the throne, he declared his impatience to embrace and reward the Syrian ſophiſt, who had preſerved, in a degenerate age, the Grecian purity of taſte, of manners, and of religion. The Emperor's prepoſſeſſion was increaſed and juſtified by the diſcreet pride of his favourite. Inſtead of preſſing, with the foremoſt of the crowd, into the palace of Conſtantinople, Libanius calmly expected his arrival at Antioch: withdrew from court, on the firſt ſymptoms of coldneſs and indifference; required a formal invitation for each viſit; and taught his ſovereign an important leſſon, that he might command the obedience of a ſubject, but that he muſt deſerve the attachment of a friend. . . The voluminous

assistance of God, for some part of it you yourself can alleviate. You are able, if you please, to re-build the city ‡; but for your concern on account

minous writings of Libanius still exist; among them, near two thousand of his letters * . . . His birth is assigned to the year 314. [In a letter to Priscus] he mentions the 76th year of his age (A. D. 390.) and seems to allude to some events of still later date. GIBBON.

Libanius was a great admirer of Julian, fond of Gentilism, and averse to Christianity, but not an enemy to all Christians. He did not embrace Christianity, having been educated in great prejudices against it, and having never examined its evidence. Nevertheless, I cannot but esteem him an useful man. For, as Socrates acknowledges, he was an excellent sophist; he was continually employed in teaching polite literature; and had many scholars; some of whom were afterwards men of great eminence. Among them, Socrates and Sozomen reckon John Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsouestia, and Maximus bishop of Seleucia in Isauria. LARDNER.

By comparing their works, we find in reality that Julian resembles Libanius, but it is with a handsome likeness, and in the same manner as a person of quality, who speaks well without affecting to do so, may be said to resemble a rhetorician who makes it his study. "Hence, I imagine," says Libanius, "his subsequent writings have some affinity "to our style, as if he had been one of our scholars." Julian submitted to his criticism both his actions and writings. He was thought to have assisted him in the composition of the Misopogon. "Libanius," said he, "loves "me more than ever my mother did; he is not attached "to my fortune, but to my person." LA BLETERIE.

† This Epistle is one of the three first published by Fabricius, with a Latin translation, in his Bibliotheca Græca, vol. VII. p. 397. In the edition of Wolfius, it is the XXXIIId.

‡ Nicomedia, the capital of Bythinia, which, from the beauty of its situation, the magnificence of its buildings,

* In his Life, his letters, he says, were innumerable.

its

account of the dead, may Heaven afford you consolation! Nicomedia, ruined as she is, I deem most happy. Her safety indeed would have been most desirable; but even thus she is honoured * by your tears. Nor are these inferior to the lamentations which the Muses are said to have uttered for Achilles †, or to the drops of blood which Jupiter, in honour of his dearest son, poured down at the approaching death of Sarpedon ‡. That she therefore, who was lately a city, may again be a city, will be your concern. Elpidius §, always

its grandeur, and its riches, had been looked upon as the fifth city in the world, was destroyed by an earthquake, Aug. 24, 358, followed by a fire which lasted five days. A monody, by Libanius, on this subject, I have inserted in vol. II. Julian was then only Cæsar; but he visited the city, and gave orders for re-building it, in his way from Constantinople to Antioch, May 15, 362, after his accession to the empire. Another earthquake, which was also felt at Constantinople and Nice, swallowed up the remains of Nicomedia, on January 1, 363.

* Τίμηται δὲ ὁμως I have added, to complete the sense, from the [French] king's largest MS. where these words are written in the margin, but in a more modern hand. That of the Vatican also has on the side τίμηται δὲ ὁμως πεσουσα. For the city might be honoured indeed, but could not be restored from its ruins, by the tears of Julian. Valois quotes this passage of Libanius, in his notes on Ammianus, XXII. 9. p 319. WOLFIUS.

† Alluding to Homer, Odyss. XXIV. 60.

Round thee the Muses, with alternate strain,
In ever consecrating verse, complain. POPE, 77.

‡ Iliad. XVI. 459.

Then, touch'd with grief, the weeping heavens distill'd
A shower of blood o'er all the fatal field. POPE, 559.

§ A philosopher, to whom Julian has addressed his LVIIth Epistle. Libanius also has addressed several Epistles to him, and has mentioned him in several others.

a man of distinguished probity, has now made wonderful improvements. Thus it is not only true, as Sophocles says, that

Wise kings are form'd by converse with the wise *, but the wisdom of a king improves also his friends in virtue. So serviceable have you been to Elpidius, making him not only richer but better. Though younger than he, you have been his instructor in these laudable pursuits, in equity, in an eager desire to assist his friends, to treat courteously those whom he knows not, and by so treating them, always to retain their friendship. For all, who have approached and conversed with him, have first admired and then instantly loved him, or rather have discovered your ideas in all that you have entrusted to him. I often discourse with him; and all our discourses turn on you, on the understanding that you possess, and the important affairs in which you are engaged. The manner in which you will complete them, and how you will ward some impending dangers, we have sagely discussed. I seemed, as it were, conversing with yourself. With particular pleasure I received the intelligence of your having defeated the Barbarians †, and that you had related your victories in a commentary ‡, thus acting

* Σοφοι τυραννοι των σοφων συνεσια.

I have searched Sophocles in vain for this verse. WOLFIUS.

† Probably his victories over the Salian Franks and Chamarians. See the Epistle to the Athenians, p. 87.

‡ We should add him to the number of celebrated historians, if his Memoirs of the Gallic war had been transmitted to us. LA BLETERIE.

at

at once as an orator and a general *. Achilles required a Homer, and Alexander many such †, but your trophies, your own voice, which has erected them, will transmit to posterity. Thus you surpass the sophists, by proposing to them not only actions for them to celebrate, but the orations, which you have composed on your actions, for their emulation.

To these your trophies I wish you to add that of restoring Pompeianus ‡ to his rights; and think not this an unworthy contention. For this is the man, whom formerly, in Bithynia, when he was ambassador from hence, you saw with pleasure, and, on being informed of what he had been defrauded, gave him hopes of recovering his property. Of this promise, O prince §, I intreat you to be mindful.

* See the Epistle to the Athenians, p. 88, note *.

† Τλανὼν [the common reading] has no meaning. Spanheim has συγγραφιλων, perhaps for συγγραφεων, "writers." M. V. la Croze preferred Σειρηνων, ("Sirens.") To me it is not yet clear. Suppose we should read τοιουτων, ("such,") which I have expressed in my translation? Salvinius has "Titenibus." WOLFIUS.

‡ Pompeianus, who had been præfect of Bithynia, is mentioned with elogiums by Libanius in many other Epistles, and some are also addressed to him.

§ Ω Βασιλευ. Though Julian was then only Cæsar, as appears from some passages above, both Fabricius and Wolfius have translated this *Imperator*. But Βασιλευς was often applied to the Cæsars.

EPISTLE II. *.

A. D. 362. ARE you then forgetful of us? But Phœnicia does not suffer us to be forgetful of you, as she celebrates your reign in immortal hymns †. From your ‡ Asia also flows the fame of your actions, increasing our expectations. For nothing that we have heard, great as all these actions are, is so great as to exceed the hopes that we have formed. We, on account of our relation to the Ionians §, rejoice, trusting that you will proceed in the right road, and that your authority both over them and us will be more firmly established. But this must be left to the providence of God.

Andragathius, in requesting to be the bearer of this, has rather conferred than asked a favour of me.

* This is another of the Epistles preserved by Fabricius. In the edition of Wolfius it is the CCXXIVth.

† Godefroi, in one of the indexes to his edition of the Theodosian Code, quotes this passage; but supposes this letter (then unpublished) to be addressed to Count Julian, Consular of Phœnicia.

‡ Υμετερας. In the Barocc. MS. Ημετερας. Our reading is supported by four others; and justly, as Libanius appeals to the accounts sent him, of the actions performed by Julian, from foreign and distant parts. Addressing Julian, he styles Ionia (which is soon after eloquently named) "*Your* Asia," meaning a district of Asia Minor, in which, having left Phœnicia, he then was. WOLFIUS.

§ For this relationship, of which Libanius, an orator of Antioch, here boasts, the scholiast thus accounts: "The "Ionians near Smyrna formerly sent a colony to Antioch, "and therefore he styles them relations." *Ibid.*

For

For he will not be more gratified by the pleaſure of ſeeing you than I am by thus being enabled to accoſt you. This youth will have theſe three recommendations to you; an energy of ſpeech, which he has diſplayed before the præfects; a courteſy of behaviour, which endears him to all with whom he converſes; and ſuch an intimacy with me, as, in that reſpect, to exceed all the friends that I have had ſince my childhood.

EPISTLE III. *

YOU have gained a double victory †, one by your arms, the other by your eloquence. One trophy is erected to you by the Barbarians, and the other by me your friend; a trophy this moſt pleaſing even to a conqueror. For all parents wiſh to be excelled by their children ‡, and you, A. D. 358.

* The Barocc. MS. to the name Ιελιανῳ adds, Καισαρι, ("Cæſar,") but the Medic. B. τῳ Καλαφαλῳ ("the execrable.") Ezech. Spanheim quotes the beginning of this epiſtle in his preface to the works of Julian, p. 4. WOLFIUS.

In the edition of Wolfius, this is the CCCLXXIIId.

† Thus our author, in his CCCXCIVth epiſtle, a: "The "excellent Anatolius has gained two victories over us." *Ibid.*

‡ A compariſon by no means foreign to this paſſage, as the ſophiſts uſed to ſtyle their ſcholars their ſons. See Eunapius, in Julian, and Damaſcius in the Life of Iſidorus in Photius on Zenodotus; "alone thought worthy of "being called the darling child of Proclus." Our author alſo in his epiſtles has frequently the ſame expreſſion. That Julian had been inſtructed in the art of ſpeaking by the precepts of Libanius, is evident from this as well as from other paſſages. *Ibid.*

who by me have been instructed in writing, have in that excelled your instructor. But now for the brevity * of my epistle, I, the orator, must account to you, the general, or rather to one no less consummate in the art of oratory than in that of war †. After the Emperor ‡ had given you a share in the government, I thought myself bound to lay some restraint on my freedom, and not to indulge it, as I had been accustomed, to a man so exalted. For knowing, as we do, in our declamatory skirmishes, how to accost Pericles, Cimon, and Miltiades, it would have been shameful in real life to neglect those laws. And as you yourself say, that the letters of generals, on account of their avocations, should be short, this induced me to contract my

* Julian loved long epistles, as appears from his second to Prohæresius: "Sages, like you, may make long and "verbose orations, but from me to you a little is suffi-"cient."

† This union of war with eloquence and the other arts is applauded by Libanius in other places, but especially in his IIId oration to Julian, p. 183. "You alone com-"prehend the accomplishments that are divided among "others; and no orator, nor warrior, nor judge, nor "sophist, nor mystic, nor philosopher, nor prophet can "admire himself when compared with you. For in your "actions you excell those who act, in your speeches those "who speak." WOLFIUS.

‡ That Constantius, who, when he was oppressed with the difficulties of the Gallic war, though by no means a friend to Julian, rather thinking that he had cause to fear him, yet yielded to the exigence of the times, and associated Julian in the empire. For this reason, in the Barocc. MS. this epistle has the addition of "Cæsar." *Ibid.*

epistles,

epiſtles, ſenſible, that he whoſe buſineſs prevents him from writing long letters, by one who ſends him long letters muſt be much interrupted. But now, as you order me to be diffuſe, I will obey.

And, firſt, I congratulate you, that, with arms in your hands, you have not ſuſpended your application to oratory, but wage war, as if war were your only ſtudy, and attend to books, as if you were a ſtranger to arms. And next, that he *, who has given you a ſhare in the empire, has had no cauſe to repent of his having given it, but conſidering him as your couſin, and collegue, and lord, and maſter, in all your actions you promote his glory, and exclaim to your falling enemies, "what "would be your fate, if the Emperor were pre-"ſent?" All this I applaud, and alſo your not having changed your manners with your dreſs, nor loſt, by gaining power, the remembrance of your friends. Many bleſſings attend you for ſhewing that, when I celebrated your talents, I was not a liar, or rather for having ſhewn that I was a liar in promiſing nothing equal to what you have performed! This is all your own, and copied from no model. For though ſome, together with the empire, have aſſumed the love of money, contracting deſires to which before they were ſtrangers, and others have given more indulgence to their former inclinations, you alone, when raiſed to the throne,

* Conſtantius. See the laſt note, p. 310.

have shared your fortune * among your friends, giving one a house, another slaves, land to this, money to that, and, when a subject, were more wealthy than now when you are prince. Nor do you exclude me from the number of your friends, though I am not one of those who have shared your favours. For I can assign a reason of my alone having received nothing. As you would have cities abound with every thing that can promote their happiness, you deem nothing more essential to this than oratory, knowing that, if that were extinct, we should resemble the Barbarians. Apprehending therefore, that, if I abounded with riches, I should neglect my art, you thought it right for me to remain poor, that I might not be tempted to desert my station: Such, at least, is my solution. Not that you have said, "Amphiaraus "and Capaneus are something †; but this man "has neither name nor place ‡." But your not having

* This may illustrate what our author, in his Life, p. 42, relates of Julian, viz. that "Libanius loved himself, but others loved his riches." WOLSIUS.

† This is a proverbial expression, which I do not remember to have read elsewhere. In other passages of the ancients, Capaneus is applied to a faithful friend, because Capaneus, amidst great wealth, living with frugality and œconomy, was most attentive to his friends. *Ibid.*

It is needless to add, that Amphiaraus and Capaneus were two of the seven chiefs against Thebes.

‡ Ουτ' εν λογω ουτ εν αριθμω. This oracle of Apollo, to the inhabitants of Ægina, is quoted by the scholiast on Theocritus: Υμεις δ', ω Μεγαρεις, ουτ' εν λογω, κ. τ. λ. Compare the Chiliades of Erasmus, p. 437. *Ibid.*

The

having given me any thing is owing to your regard for the public. Therefore though we are indigent of money, we abound with words. This is your concern; may we not disgrace the part that is allotted to us, nor you your illustrious rank!

EPISTLE IV. *

I SENT you a short oration on an important subject. You can add to its length, by supplying what is essential to that purpose. If you give that, you will shew that you think I have a talent for encomiums. If you do not give it, I shall be induced to entertain some other suspicions.

EPISTLE V. †

UNLESS you were well apprised how long ago my friendship with the excellent Macedonius ‡ was contracted, and for what reasons it has been since improved, of these I would

The inhabitants of Ægina, say some, of Megara, say others, after gaining a naval victory, enquired of Apollo who was the bravest of the Greeks; to which he gave a depreciating answer, concluding as above.

* This, in the edition of Wolfius, is the DXXVth. It is also one of those preserved in Latin by Zambicari. See a note on Epistle XV. To what oration Libanius here alludes does not appear.

† This is the DLXXXVIth in the edition abovementioned.

‡ The son of Pelagius, of Cyrus, a city in Syria, an orator, and a philosopher. Libanius mentions him with great encomiums in several other epistles, and has addressed three to him, one of which is a congratulation on his marriage.

first

first appriſe you; but knowing, as you do, its foundation, you will not wonder that I, who would decline no danger for my friends, ſhould devote to his ſervice this letter. He has indeed prevailed with me to ask a favour of you, not that you grant favours eaſily, or grant all that are aſked; but ſuch as are juſt and right you willingly confer. And, in truth, whoever does not oblige his friends, in matters thus irreproachable, blames the daughter * of Jove for retaining the Graces in her veſtibule. But that you favour thoſe who ask nothing unreaſonable is evident to all. Now obſerve whether my requeſt is ſuch as can be cenſured.

Macedonius married a wife who had a ſon by a former husband. That ſon is now dead. I wiſh therefore that the mother †, in preference to the grandfather, may ſucceed to his eſtate, if a regard to honour can induce the grandfather to wave his right, and to prefer praiſe to a compliance with the law. Be it therefore your endeavour to con-

* The Greek mythologiſts ſtyle her Δικη, ("Juſtice,") whom he virtually condemns, that does not return to a friend the favour which he could and ought. WOLFIUS.

† The mothers, among the Romans, had not, in the beginning, any ſhare in the ſucceſſion of their children, whether they were emancipated or not. In proceſs of time, the mothers did ſucceed, but differently according to the different times, and the whimſical changes that many laws made in their right of ſucceſſion. In England, if, after the death of a father, any of his children die inteſtate, without wife or children, in the life-time of the mother, the mother, in that caſe, ſucceeds jointly and equally with the brothers and ſiſters of the deceaſed and their repreſentatives. STRAHAN.

vince

vince him, that it is more creditable for him to decline than to take these effects. You will be doubly persuasive, as, besides the powers of oratory, you possess supreme dominion. And I hear that this old man is vain of a good reputation, and had rather accumulate fame than wealth. Delay not therefore to send for and confer with him, and thus perform an action more humane than any law. Nor think that we will admit, as an excuse, your alleging that the discussion of such matters does not belong to you, or, by way of subterfuge, that you are unable to persuade him. To be the instrument of conferring wealth on the mother, and fame on her father, will do you no dishonour. Every word from you makes a strong impression on the hearers.

EPISTLE VI. *

THE laws and myself will take care that that most abandoned servant shall be punished for what he has said and done. But you, together with the empire, shew that you possess also such benevolence as the excellent Priscian † displayed to Seleucus ‡. Acting thus, you will induce the

* This, in the edition of Wolfius, is the DXCIST.

† Priscian was an excellent orator, and on that account was invited by Julian to Constantinople. Libanius has addressed several Epistles to him.

‡ Seleucus is also mentioned as a friend of Libanius in many of his Epistles, and many are addressed to him.

preceptors

preceptors of Arrhabius, I mean Calliopius *, and his father, to treat him with more indulgence. For Seleucus married the daughter of one, and the ſiſter of the other. Him therefore, whom in your letters you ſo highly honour as to ſtyle him your ſon, aſſiſt, I intreat you, in his literary improvements.

EPISTLE VII. †

WOULD you have me believe that you do not take the leaſt concern in the affairs of Ulpian and Palladius ‡, that you neither regard them as friends, nor eſteem them as orators, nor recollect that they may aſſiſt you with their friendly offices? Such reports, which it does not become me to repeat, are circulated by many. On the contrary, I contend that none of them, as far as you are concerned, are true. Write therefore, and confute them. You will thus confer a favour on yourſelf, as well as on me.

* Calliopius, by ſome of the Epiſtles to him, appears to have been an orator.

† This in the edition of Wolfius is the DCIId, a.

‡ Two orators, frequently mentioned by Libanius.

EPISTLE

EPISTLE VIII. *

I HAVE discharged my obligations to Aristophanes †; but you, in return, have given me such splendid tokens of a vehement affection as are conspicuous both to Gods and men. So that now I seem almost to soar into the sky, elevated by your epistle, which has inspired me with such hopes, and has so decorated my oration ‡, that all things else, the wealth of Midas, the beauty of Nireus §, the swiftness of Crison ‖, the strength of Polydamas **, the sword of Peleus ††, seem little in my sight. A. D. 362.

* This Epistle is one of the three first published by Fabricius. In the edition of Wolfius it is the DCLXXth.

† This oration for Aristophanes, a Corinthian, the son of Menander, who had been severely fined by the præfect of Ægypt, on account of his consulting astrologers, is preserved in the works of Libanius, vol. II. p. 210, &c. WOLFIUS.

It is said in this oration, that he had been fined, scourged, and imprisoned.

‡ The Epistle of Julian to Libanius, to which this is an answer, is the LXVIIIth, or last, in vol. II.

§ See Homer. Iliad. ii. 671.

‖ Crison was that native of Himera, who gained three victories in the Olympic games. See the Prolegomena of Erasmus Schmidius on Pindar, p. 31. Add. Pausan. Eliac. p. 172. WOLFIUS.

** A famous Thessalian wrestler, who strangled a lion on mount Olympus, tamed a wild bull, and stopped a chariot drawn by the strongest horses. He was crushed to death by a rock under which he took shelter from a storm; and this was owing to his indiscretion in flattering himself that

fight. Even the nectar of the Gods, were I allowed to enjoy it, could not give me greater delight than I now feel, when my prince, such a one as Plato formerly sought and could scarcely find *, has commended my sentiments, admired my oration, and has not only promised that he will give something, but, which is much greater honour, that he will consult with me what to give. They who observe the rising of the celestial goat †, do not always obtain their wishes; but I, though I have not attended to this, have been most successful. And if I want any other favour, the Emperor, imitating the Deity, is ever gracious. Your epistle therefore shall be prefixed to my oration, to inform all the Greeks, that my dart has not been launched in vain, for by what I have written, Aristophanes will be honoured, as I am by what you have returned; or rather both of us shall

that he could support the rock, which was beginning to fall, when his companions fled. MORERI.

Libanius mentions him also in his xvith Declamation.

†† Peleus received a sword from Vulcan, with which he could defend himself against all attacks, as we learn from the scholiast on the ivth Nemean of Pindar, ver. 88, &c. WOLFIUS.

* Alluding to the famous saying of Plato, that "governments would be happy, if kings philosophised or "philosophers reigned." *Ibid.*

† A proverbial expression, often used of those with whom every thing succeeds happily, and as they wish; because it was of old a vulgar opinion that they who saw that goat, who was the nurse of Jupiter, and on that account was made a constellation, obtained whatever they desired. ERASMUS.

shall

ſhall glory in what has been written and will be given by you, for each of us is honoured by each of theſe.

But now it may divert you to hear how Ariſtophanes has been terrified. One of your uſual evening-attendants informed us that, on coming to your door, he was refuſed admittance, becauſe he was told, you were buſy in compoſing an oration. This immediately occaſioned an apprehenſion that you had determined to controvert my oration *, and confute your preceptor, and would thus overwhelm Ariſtophanes like the Nile †. We haſtened therefore to the excellent Elpidius, who, on hearing the cauſe of our alarm, burſt into a loud laughter. Thus we recovered our ſpirits, and ſoon after I received your elegant epiſtle ‡.

* Libanius means the oration, which he, who had formerly been the preceptor of Julian, had ſpoken for Ariſtophanes. WOLFIUS.

† Alluding, I imagine, to the inundation of the Nile, and, at the ſame time, to the torrent of Julian's eloquence, which might over-power Ariſtophanes. Thus Suidas aſcribes to Chryſoſtom "cataracts like thoſe of the Nile," and Tzetzes mentions "Nile-like floods," both applied to eloquence. See p. 305. *Ibid.*

‡ This Epiſtle of Julian to Libanius is here ſubjoined in a note, by Wolfius, from Fabricius. But I have added my tranſlation of it to his other Epiſtles in Vol. II.

EPISTLE

EPISTLE IX. *

A. D. 361. HOW much ſoever I condemned that journey (fatiguing as it was) †, I no leſs, or rather more, condemned myſelf for returning ſo ſoon, inſtead of going to the place appointed, and there indulging my eyes, the next morning, at ſun-riſing, with the ſight of his divine viſage. And ſo unfortunate is the city, that ſhe could not afford me the leaſt conſolation. I ſtyle her unfortunate, not on account of the dearth of proviſions, but becauſe ſhe has been and is adjudged wicked, invidious, and ungrateful ‡ by him whoſe prudence

* To the name Ιελιανῳ, Αὐλοκρατορι ("Emperor,") is prefixed in two MSS. And in another, τῳ περισκαλαρατῳ ("moſt "execrable,") is annexed to it. WOLFIUS.

In the edition of Wolfius it is the DCCXIIth. It is alſo one of thoſe preſerved in Latin by Zambicari.

† What fatiguing and fruitleſs journey Libanius had taken, does not appear. Perhaps it was to Mount Caſſius, (ſee the Miſopogon, p. 282.) where Jupiter had a temple, fifteen miles, or a day's journey, from Antioch, which, however, Julian performed ſeveral times during his reſidence in that city. For "from thence," ſays Ammianus, (XXII. 14.) "at the ſecond cock-crowing, is firſt "ſeen the riſing of the ſun."

‡ Meaning Antioch, at that time not only afflicted with famine, but expoſed to the reſentment of the Emperor for diſregarding his edict for lowering the price of proviſions, and not abſtaining from ſarcaſms on himſelf. This appears from the embaſſy (πρεσβευτικος) our author ſent to Julian for the

prudence surpasses his dominions, extensive as they are. While Alcimus * was with me, I had one who would hear with indulgence my self-reproaches and my boasts of the distinction shewn me by you. But after his departure, considering the cieling as my only friend, I looked up to it, as I lay in my bed, and said, "Now the Emperor sent for me: "now I entered and sat down (for that he allowed "me); now I pleaded for the city, as I was per- "mitted to intercede with him for those who "had offended him. But he prevailed, so just "was his charge, and so powerful his elocution. "And though I opposed him, I was neither dis- "liked, nor ejected." With this banquet I regale myself, and I intreat the Gods, first, that they will give you the superiority over your enemies, and, secondly, that they will render you as propitious to us as you were formerly. I have also a third petition, which they have heard, but I will not here mention. I ought not, however, even to have said that I will not mention it. For you are ingenious enough to conjecture this third article from my wishing to conceal what I wish. And, in-

the Antiochians, which is in the second volume of his works, p. 151, and also from his oration to the Antiochians *de Imperatoris iræ*, which, before unpublished, our learned Fabricius has inserted in his Bibliotheca Græca, vol. VII. p. 207. WOLFIUS.

See also the Misopogon, p. 296, &c.

* A native of Nicomedia, and a man of learning, as appears from several letters addressed to him by Libanius.

deed, I apprehend that the contrary will be your choice *.

Now then pass the rivers; rush on the archers † more impetuously than a torrent; and afterwards think on what you said you would think. But fail not to solace me, in your absence, as much as you can. I, for my part, will send epistles to extort your answers from the midst of the battle, as I am convinced that you have a genius that can at once command an army, fight an enemy, and correspond with a friend. I am so infirm, that I am obliged to hear what I ought to see. Happy is Seleucus ‡ in this glorious fight, and in preferring the honour of serving such a prince to that which he derives from a good wife, and a most beloved daughter!

* I should understand this of marriage, to which Julian was averse. WOLFIUS.

† Meaning the Persians, Julian being then engaged in that expedition. *Ibid.*

‡ Seleucus has been mentioned in Epistle VI. p. 315.

EPISTLE

EPISTLE X. *

THAT Alexander † was appointed to the government, it firſt, I confeſs, gave me ſome concern, as the principal perſons among us were diſſatisfied. I thought it diſhonourable, injurious, and unbecoming a prince; and that repeated mulcts would rather weaken than improve the city. But now the good effects of this ſeverity are ſo manifeſt, that I recant ‡. For they, who formerly bathed and ſlept at noon, now, imitating the A. D. 363.

* This, in the edition of Wolfius, is the DCXXIId.

† This is the Alexander of whom Ammianus ſays, (XXIII. 2.) "When Julian was going to leave Antioch, he made "one Alexander of Heliopolis governor of Syria, a tur- "bulent and ſevere man, ſaying, that 'undeſerving as he 'was, ſuch a ruler ſuited the avaricious and contu- 'melious Antiochians." Conſult Valois on that paſſage, who refers to this Epiſtle, then unpubliſhed. WOLFIUS. See the Miſopogon, p. 302. note †.

‡ Ἀδὺ παλινῳδίαν. This proverb is taken from a tranſaction of Steſichorus, the Lyric poet, mentioned by Plato in his Phædrus. For having ſlandered Helen, in a poem, he was deprived of his eye-ſight; but Achilles, by her deſire, as Pauſanias relates, in his Laconica, having acquainted him with the cauſe of his blindneſs, he immediately ſung a recantation, by praiſing Helen, whom before he had cenſured; and thus he recovered his ſight. Socrates ſays, in joke, that "he wiſhes to imitate him, and would rather ſing a recan- "tation in favour of love, which he had blamed, than "loſe his eyes." ERASMUS.

manners of the Lacedæmonians *, labour indefatigably not only in the day-time, but no small part of the night, nailed, as it were, to the gate of Alexander. And when he clamours from within, every thing is instantly in motion. Thus the sword will never be wanted, since his threats alone are sufficient to render the impudent modest, and the slothful industrious. Calliope is also honoured, agreeably to your wishes †, not only by horse-races, but theatrical exhibitions; and sacrifices are offered to that Goddess in the theatre, without our making the least alteration. Loud applause is given, and amidst this applause the Gods are invoked. With this applause the governor seems so delighted, that he urges many more to add to it. Of such importance, O prince, to mankind is divination ‡, as it teaches every one the best manner of governing a family, a city, a nation, and a kingdom.

* For the Lacedæmonians were far from being delicate. Hence arose the proverb, Λακωνικως δειπνειν, ("to sup Lacedæmonially,") on which see Erasmus, p. 268. WOLFIUS.

† This must probably be ironical, as Julian was far from being a favourer, or frequenter, of the circus, or the theatre. See the Misopogon, pp. 232, 261, and 268.

‡ Libanius here flatters Julian, as if he had learned by divination that Alexander was such a one as ought to govern Syria and the Antiochians. WOLFIUS.

EPISTLE

EPISTLE XI. *.

ON all accounts I was pleaſed to ſee Ablavius †, but principally becauſe he brought me a letter from you. For ſooner than blame you I ſhould deteſt myſelf; ſuch has been your attention to the promotion of my intereſt, amidſt this tedious war, which you could not have been, if any one had ſpoken to my diſadvantage. In ſeeming to laugh, and in pardoning thoſe who, in order to flatter one, calumniate another, you acted like yourſelf. Flattery is their trade, and as neceſſary to their ſubſiſtence as rowing is to that of ſailors. That ſage, with whoſe morals Ablavius acquainted me, though he would not diſcloſe his name, gave me no concern on any account, this only excepted, that in mentioning me he was guilty of a ſoleciſm; and I, though guilty of no offence, was ſent by him among the Barbarians ‡. Inform him of this, and caution him to avoid ſuch miſtakes for the future; he may then, if he pleaſes, ſpeak evil of me, for then, at leaſt, he will not ſpeak ill §. But this

* This, in the edition of Wolfius, is the MXXXVth.

† Libanius has two Epiſtles to Ablavius, by which it appears that he was an orator.

‡ Libanius ridicules the man, by whoſe ſpeaking barbarouſly of him, he himſelf was, as it were, made a Barbarian. WOLFIUS.

§ This play on the words λεγειν κακως, and ἐρει κακως, I have endeavoured to retain in Engliſh, by the equivocal meaning of "evil" and "ill," as applied to ſlander and to language.

man

man is unalterable *. If, however, by his calumnies he ſhould ſtill offend you, and you wiſh to puniſh him, you eaſily may, by confining him to his houſe, in an afternoon, and obliging him to ſup at home; and when he again grows inſolent, through repletion, and drinks your own wine againſt you †, you need only repeat that puniſhment; you cannot inflict a greater. This will effectually curb his licentious tongue; but, whatever be his name, let me know it, that, when I write his elogium, it may not be anonymous.

EPISTLE XII. ‡

A. D. 358. ALAS! alas! how inſatiable is your deſire of farther attainments! You poſſeſs the palm of eloquence, ſnatched from others, at once

A matchleſs prince and a moſt potent ſage §.

Other

* Σταδιος, in Greek, uſually ſignifies "firm, immoveable." I underſtand, therefore, this paſſage of a man who cannot be changed, but always remains the ſame. WOLFIUS.

† Πινει των σον οινον καὶα σου. It ſhould ſeem by this paſſage, that it was cuſtomary to drink health, or confuſion, in thoſe times as it is in ours.

‡ In the edition of Wolfius this is the MCXXVth.

§ Αρχων τ' αγαθος, κραιπνος τε σοφιστης.

In alluſion to Homer. Iliad III. 178.

Αμφοτερων βασιλευς τ' αγαθος, κραιπνος τ' αιχμητης.

Great in the war, and great in arts of ſway. POPE, 236. That Libanius here did not flatter Julian, in praiſing him for his eloquence, his orations and epiſtles ſtill extant atteſt. To which may be added what Spanheim ſays in his preface to the works of Julian, c. 2. "Among the "Emperors his predeceſſors, or thoſe who followed him

Other princes have acted, and we applauded; but you excell in both those capacities. For how can we speak so highly in commendation of your actions as you do of that short letter *? Hence I conjecture what you will do, when you have subdued Phœnicia †, as already you administer justice to your subjects, wage war with the Barbarians, and in the composition of orations far exceed the common rank. Though I am not solicitous as to the future, I shall be as much pleased with this slaughter as with a victory. For when the vanquished and the victor are friends, the vanquished has a share in the triumph; as friends, it is said, have all things common ‡.

" in the same exalted station, I cannot see any, who as to the " extent, or copiousness, of their learning, or the bright- " ness of their genius, or the power of their eloquence, " can in those arts, and in the talent of writing, contest " with him the superiority." Libanius bestows a similar elogium on Julian in his own Life, p. 41. styling him " the " most temperate, the most oratorical, and the most war- " like." WOLFIUS.

* Julian also highly commended other orations of Libanius. See on this subject the remarkable Epistle of Julian, before unpublished, mentioned in p. 317. now the [LXVIIIth.] *Ibid.*

† I should understand this of the orators of Phœnicia. *Ibid.*

‡ Κοινα γαρ, φασι, τα των φιλων. This proverb is quoted by Euripides in his Orestes, in the same words. See the Chiliades of Erasmus [p. 13.] and Gregory Nazianz. Ep. LXIV. *Ibid.*

" No proverb," says Erasmus, " is more salutary, or " more celebrated, than this."

EPISTLE

EPISTLE XIII. *

GEMELLUS † is my relation and my friend, and by his manners is no disgrace to his family. If he had been possessed of money and a large estate, he would long ago have been employed on some public function. But as his fortune is small, he has, by my advice, taken a method which may exempt him from tears and chains, the usual attendants of those whom public employments have reduced to poverty.

Happy he is in discharging this office under your inspection; as you never fail to reprobate injustice, and to honour what is just and equitable. Many there are who look upon justice and equity as meanness, and accordingly despise them. But far different is your conduct; for you were well born, and well instructed, and therefore glory more in being virtuous than in the numerous nations which you govern. Of this Gemellus has proofs; and, that he may have more, let him be obliged for those to you, but for these to me. For if he should receive any greater favours in consequence of my letter, he will certainly be indebted for them to my advice.

* In the edition of Wolfius this is the MCCCXCIVth.

† To this Gemellus Libanius has several epistles.

EPISTLE

EPISTLE XIV. *

WE have made a mutual agreement, that I ſhould write to you in behalf of my friends, and that if their requeſts are reaſonable, you will aſſiſt them. Of your aſſiſtance let this Hyperechius † firſt reap the advantage. He has long been harraſſed and oppreſſed by thoſe whoſe chief ſtudy is unjuſt gain. He was one of my ſcholars in my former proſperity. Such I deem the time of my reſidence at Nicomedia ‡; not on account of the wealth, but of the excellent friends, that it procured me, many of whom are no more. This man, whoſe hopes now reſt on you, then came from Ancyra §. In eloquence, none excelled him; in manners, none equalled him. I love him therefore with a parental affection. I cannot ſee him injured without aſſiſting him myſelf, and urging others to aſſiſt him alſo. And if in this you think that I act no bad part, ſhew by your deeds that you approve my conduct.

* In the edition of Wolfius this is the MCCCCXCTH.

† An orator, the ſon of Maximus, a native of Galatia. Libanius has addreſſed ſeveral epiſtles to him.

‡ Our author affirms, in his Life, p. 21, that he ſpent five years with pleaſure at Nicomedia, and calls that time "the ſpring of his life." WOLFIUS.

§ The ſame city which Libanius, in his XXVIth oration, p. 599, ſtyles "the principal and largeſt city in Galatia." *Ibid.*

EPISTLE XV. *

A. D. 363. THE oration †, which contains some account of your glorious actions, you honour not only with praise, but admiration. And as you are ranked among the learned, you maintain, I am told, that Demosthenes could not have written more forcibly, Socrates more agreeably, or Plato more copiously, on the occasion. You affirm also, that greater glory will redound to you from my writings, than from the fortunate event of your actions. My opinion is far different. For though, with my most studious and elaborate endeavours, I strove to exalt your name; yet, as my strength was unequal to such a weight, what I performed I performed with great pleasure. But so brilliant are your praises, that the rudest genius may seem

* This is the IIId of the IId book of the Epistles of Libanius, collected in Greece by Francisco Zambicari of Bologna, and published, in his Latin translation only by John Somerfeld, at Cracow, 1504. It is also inserted by Fabricius, in his Bibliotheca Græca, vol. VII. p. 390.

† His Προσφωνητικος, or panegyrical address to Julian, when he was at Antioch, just before he set out on his Persian expedition. It is the Vth in the IId Vol. of the works of this Sophist, published by Morell. How agreeable it was to the Emperor Libanius mentions in an Epistle to Celsus [the DCXLVIIIth], as well as in the above.

FABRICIUS.

suffi-

ſufficiently decorated by the dignity of the ſubject. Your actions therefore were the nobleſt ornaments of my oration. And though I attempted to illuſtrate thoſe actions which in their own nature were moſt ſplendid, I rather illuſtrated myſelf. So that you have no cauſe to return me thanks, or to think that they are due to me. But that I may acquire ſuch a ſplendor by recording your exploits, whatever ſucceſs may attend you in future fail not to communicate to me by a letter.

EPISTLE XVI.*

I CAN ſcarce believe that, than which nothing can be more certain. Departing from you, in obedience to your order, and on an urgent occaſion, I am both willingly and unwillingly abſent from you. For I think I could be ſooner negligent of my life than of your commands. Any labours, however great, ſeem trifles; however ſmall, when deſired to undertake them for you, I have been uſed to think them ſweeter than ambroſia. To this it is owing, that, were you to command me, I would depart not only from you, but from myſelf. But as I conſider you as my deity, without you nothing ſeems pleaſing. You conſtantly occur to my mind: whatever I hear repeats the voice of

* This alſo is publiſhed only in Latin by Zambicari. It is the XLVth of his IId book.

Julian; whatever I see reflects the image of my venerable deity. And when a sweet slumber refreshes my languid limbs, you seem so present to me, that, by the kindness of the immortal Gods, separated and loosed from the body, my mind seems to fly to you, to embrace, accost, in short, to worship you; so that if I were to be deprived of life, I would wish that to be my last day. Farther, that I may no longer be thus tormented, I intreat you to give me your permission to return to you, and in your presence to adore your deity, which absent I at once admire and venerate. If not, as by your indulgence it may be effected, I could easily consent to be banished, not only from the city I so much love, but also from the world *.

* In the Latin, *non modo interdici mihi optatissimâ urbe, sed ipsâ etiam urbe facilè patiar*—which I do not understand. Perhaps *ipsâ urbe* should be *ipso orbe*. I have ventured so to translate it.

*** These are all the Epistles of Libanius to the Emperor that are extant. Of the others addressed to Julian (of which there are ten more), one is to his uncle the Count of the East, and the rest to some other person, or persons, of the same name.

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End of the First Volume.

The Translator's distance from the press, he is sorry to find, has occasioned the following ERRATA.

Page
v. l. 3. r. ' *Julien*'
xxvii. l. 11. r. ' responsible'
xxxi. note † l. 1. for ' LXXI' r. ' LXXX.'
xxxvii. l. 3. fr. the bottom, r. 360.'
2. l. 2. r. ' ancestors'
7. note † l. *pen.* after ' apprehension', put a comma
10. note † l. 1. r. ' asterisks'
13. note § l. 1. r. ανηνυΐω
§ 2. r. δη
17. note ‖ l. 1. r. ανθρωπον κελευων
20. note * r. επισχεσα
38. note ‡ l. 4. r. ' Critias here says'
49. note §. After ' Θεοφιλη' put a full stop
93. note † l. *penult.* r. ' opening of'

Page
143. note † l. 14. r. ' τρωτον'
165. note l. 16. after ' Trajan-Decius' add ' Gallus'
168. l. 5. r. ' Aurelian'
195. note l. 5. r. ' Dion-Chrysostom'
197. l. 7. For ' with' r. ' by'
224. note ‡ l. 2. r. ' μιλη.'
227. note l. 6. fr. the bottom. r. ' μα γας'
— l. 9. fr. the bottom r. ' wine'
243. is mispaged
247. note * l. 4. r. ' Τυχης
248. note ‡ l. *ult.* r. ' *Lĕus*'
304. note ‡ l. 1. r. ' Bithynia'
312. note * l. 3. r. ' Wolfius'
317. note ‡ l. 2. dele ' or last'
323. l. 3. For ' it' r. ' at'
— note * r. MDCCXXIId.
328. l. 6. For ' en' r. in.

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